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THE

WORKS

OF

Dr. Jonathan Swift,

Dean of St. PATRICK's, Dublin.

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MEMOIRS

RELATING TO

That Change which happened in the QUEEN'S MINISTRY in the Year 1710.

Written in OCTOBER, MDCCXIV.

HAVING continued, for near the ſpace of four years, in a good degree of confidence with the miniſtry then in being, although not with ſo much power as was believed, or at leaſt given out by my friends as well as by my enemies, eſpecially the latter, in both houſes of parliament: And this having happened during a very buſy period of negotiations abroad, and management or intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, ſome years hence, when the preſent ſcene ſhall have given place to many new ones that will ariſe, be an entertainment to thoſe who will have any perſonal regard for me or my memory, to ſet down ſome particularities which fell under my knowledge and obſervation, while I was ſuppoſed, whether truly or no, to have part in the ſecret of affairs.

One circumſtance I am a little ſorry for, that I was too negligent (againſt what I had always reſolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints or journals of every thing material as it paſſed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now re-

collect, although I was convinced, by a thousand instances, of the weakness of my memory. But, to say the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the less he thinks them of consequence, or worth regarding. And those kind of passages, which I have with curiosity found or searched for in memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the first hand, or were such wherein I acted myself. This I take to be one among other reasons why great ministers seldom give themselves the trouble of recording the important parts of that administration, where they themselves are at the head. They have extinguished all that vanity, which usually possesses men during their first acquaintance at courts; and, like the masters of a puppet-show, they despise those motions which fill common spectators with wonder and delight.

However, upon frequently recollecting the course of affairs during the time I was either trusted or employed, I am deceived, if in history there can be found any period more full of passages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the secret springs of; or from whence more useful instructions may be gathered for directing the conduct of those, who shall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in business of the state.

It may probably enough happen, that those who shall at any time hereafter peruse these papers, may think it not suitable to the nature of them, that,

that, upon occaſion, I ſometimes make mention of myſelf; who, during theſe tranſactions, and ever ſince, was a perſon without titles or public employment. But, ſince the chief leaders of the faction then out of power were pleaſed, in both houſes of parliament, to take every opportunity of ſhewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the ſecret of all affairs, and without whoſe advice or privity nothing was done, or employment diſpoſed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of ſome paſſages, wherein the publick and myſelf were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cauſe of giving myſelf this trouble, is to ſatisfy my particular friends; and, at worſt, if, after the fate of manuſcripts, theſe papers ſhall, by accident or indiſcretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to cenſure than other memoirs, publiſhed for many years paſt, in *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Italian*. The period of time I deſign to treat on, will commence with *September* 1710, from which time, till within two months of the queen's death, I was never abſent from court, except about ſix weeks in *Ireland*.

But, becauſe the great change of employments in her majeſty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun ſome months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr. *Sacheverel's* trial, while I was abſent, and lived retired in *Ireland*; I ſhall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, ſome particulars I learned from the earl of *Oxford*, the lord viſcount *Bolingbroke*, the lady *Maſham*,

and doctor *Atterbury*, who were beſt able to inform me.

I have often with great earneſtneſs preſſed the earl of *Oxford*, then lord treaſurer, and my lady *Maſham*, who were the ſole perſons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumſtance and paſſage during that whole tranſaction. Nor did this requeſt proceed from curioſity, or the ambition of knowing and publiſhing important ſecrets; but from a ſincere honeſt deſign of juſtifying the queen, in the meaſures ſhe then took and after purſued, againſt a load of ſcandal, which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with ſome appearance of truth. It was eaſy to foreſee, even at that diſtance, that the queen could not live many years; and it was ſufficiently known, what party was moſt in the good graces of the ſucceſſor; and, conſequently, what turns would be given by hiſtorians to her majeſty's proceedings, under a reign, where direct contrary meaſures would probably be taken. For inſtance, what would be more eaſy to a malicious pen than to charge the queen with inconſtancy, weakneſs, and ingratitude, in removing and diſgracing the duke of *Marlborough*, who had ſo many years commanded her armies with victory and ſucceſs; in diſplacing ſo many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whoſe counſels ſhe had in all appearance ſo proſperouſly governed; in extending the marks of her ſeverity and diſpleaſure towards the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that perſon ſhe had

ſo

so long employed and so highly trusted; and all this by the private intrigues of a woman of her bed-chamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part only from a motive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

These were some of the arguments I often made use of with great freedom, both to the earl of *Oxford* and my lady *Masham*, to incite them to furnish me with materials for a fair account of that great transaction, to which they always seemed as well disposed as myself. My lady *Masham* did likewise assure me, that she had frequently informed the queen of my request, which her majesty thought very reasonable, and did appear upon all occasions as desirous of preserving reputation with posterity, as might justly become a great prince to be.

But that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the queen and the earl of *Oxford*, did in some sort infect every one who had credit or business in court: For, after soliciting near four years, to obtain a point of so great importance to the queen and her servants, from whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

The scheme I offered was to write her majesty's reign; and, that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the historiographer's place, although of inconsiderable value, and of

which I might be ſure to be deprived upon the queen's death.

This negligence in the queen, the earl of *Oxford*, and my lady *Maſham*, is the cauſe that I can give but an imperfect account of the firſt ſprings of that great change at court, after the trial of doctor *Sacheverel*, my memory not ſerving me to retain all the facts related to me; but what I remember I ſhall here ſet down.

There was not, perhaps, in all *England*, a perſon who underſtood more artificially to diſguiſe her paſſions than the late queen. Upon her firſt coming to the throne, the ducheſs of *Marlborough* had loſt all favour with her, as her majeſty hath often acknowledged to thoſe who have told it me. That lady had long preſerved an aſcendant over her miſtreſs while ſhe was princeſs, which her majeſty, when ſhe came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor ſpirit to ſubdue. This princeſs was ſo exact an obſerver of forms, that ſhe ſeemed to have made it her ſtudy, and would often deſcend ſo low, as to obſerve, in her domeſticks of either ſex, who came in her preſence, whether a ruffle, a perriwig, or the lining of a coat, were unſuitable at certain times. The ducheſs, on the other ſide, who had been uſed to great familiarities, could not take it into her head, that any change of ſtation ſhould put her upon changing her behaviour, the continuance of which was the more offenſive to her majeſty, whoſe other ſervants, of the greateſt quality, did then treat her with the utmoſt reſpect.

The

The earl of *Godolphin* held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard several reasons given for her majesty's early disgust against that lord. The duchess, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to solicit the queen upon things very unacceptable to her, which her majesty liked the worse, as knowing from whence they originally came; and his lordship, although he endeavoured to be as respectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occasions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the duke of *Marlborough* she was wholly indifferent (as her nature in general prompted her to be), until his restless, impatient behaviour had turned her against him.

The queen had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time; and, further than a bare good or ill opinion, which she soon contracted and changed, and, very often, upon light grounds, she could hardly be said either to love or to hate any body. She grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, out of fear of being imposed upon, by an over caution she would impose upon herself; she took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service; nor would let them be done till she fell into the humour of it herself.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her majesty had gradually conceived a most rooted aver-

ſion from the duke and ducheſs of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*; which ſpread, in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the earl of *Hertford*, whoſe ungovernable temper had made him fail in his perſonal reſpects to her majeſty.

This I take to have been the principal ground of the queen's reſolutions to make a change of ſome officers both in her family and kingdom; and that theſe reſolutions did not proceed from any real apprehenſion ſhe had of danger to the church or monarchy. For, although ſhe had been ſtrictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and diſcipline, yet ſhe was not ſo ready to foreſee any attempts againſt it by the party then preſiding. But the fears that moſt influenced her were ſuch as concerned her own power and prerogative, which thoſe neareſt about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreaſonable demands.

The deportment of the ducheſs of *Marlborough*, while the prince lay expiring, was of ſuch a nature that the queen, then in the heights of grief, was not able to bear it; but, with marks of diſpleaſure in her countenance, ſhe ordered the ducheſs to withdraw, and ſend Mrs. *Maſham* to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before prince *George's* death. This prince had long conceived an incurable averſion from that party, and was reſolved to uſe his utmoſt credit with the queen, his wife, to

to get rid of them. There fell out an incident, which ſeemed to favour this attempt; for the queen, reſolving to beſtow a regiment upon Mr. *Hill*, brother to Mrs. *Maſham*, ſignified her pleaſure to the duke of *Marlborough*; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refuſed his conſent, and retired in anger to the country. After ſome heats, the regiment was given to a third perſon. But the queen reſented this matter ſo highly, which ſhe thought had been promoted by the earl of *Godolphin*, that ſhe reſolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr. *St. John* carried a letter from her majeſty to the duke of *Marlborough*, ſignifying her reſolutions to take the ſtaff from the earl of *Godolphin*, and that ſhe expected his grace's compliance; to which the duke returned a very humble anſwer. I cannot engage for this paſſage, it having never come into my head to aſk Mr. *St. John* about it: But the account Mr. *Harley* and he gave me was, That the duke of *Marlborough* and the earl of *Godolphin* had concerted with them upon a moderating ſcheme, wherein ſome of both parties ſhould be employed, but with a more favourable aſpect towards the church: That a meeting was appointed for compleating this work: That, in the mean time, the duke and ducheſs of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*, were ſecretly uſing their utmoſt efforts with the queen to turn Mr. *Harley* (who was then ſecretary of ſtate) and all his friends out of their employ-

ployments: That the queen, on the other ſide, who had a great opinion of Mr. *Harley's* integrity and abilities, would not conſent, and was determined to remove the earl of *Godolphin*. This was not above a month before the ſeaſon of the year when the duke of *Marlborough* was to embark for *Flanders*; and, the very night in which Mr. *Harley* and his friends had appointed to meet his grace and the earl of *Godolphin*, *George Churchill*, the duke's brother, who was in good credit with the prince, told his highneſs, that the duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the earl of *Godolphin* went out, or Mr. *Harley* and his friends ſuffered to continue in. The prince, thus intimidated by *Churchill*, reported the matter to the queen; and, the time and ſervice preſſing, her majeſty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great lords failed the appointment; and, the next morning, the duke at his levee ſaid aloud in a careleſs manner, to thoſe who ſtood round him, That Mr. *Harley* was turned out.

Upon the prince's death, *November* 1708, the two great lords ſo often mentioned, who had been for ſome years united with the low church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promiſes, which his highneſs had ever moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. The lord *Sommers* was made preſident of the council, the earl of *Wharton* lieutenant of *Ireland*, and ſome others of the ſame ſtamp were put into conſiderable poſts.

It ſhould ſeem to me, that the duke and earl were not very willingly drawn to impart ſo much power to thoſe of that party, who expected theſe removals for ſome years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the prince's unwillingneſs to have them employed. And I remember, ſome months before his highneſs's death, my lord *Sommers*, who is a perſon of reſerve enough, complained to me with great freedom of the ingratitude of the duke and earl, who, after the ſervice he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither ſhall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other ſervice to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil, which my lord *Godolphin* had brought upon us, by perſuading the queen to paſs the *Scotch act of ſecurity*. But, to return from this digreſſion.

Upon the admiſſion of theſe men into employments, the court ſoon ran into extremity of low-church meaſures; and although, in the houſe of commons, Mr. *Harley*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Mr. *St. John*, and ſome others, made great and bold ſtands in defence of the conſtitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time, that the duke of *Marlborough*, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the raſh counſels of his wife the ducheſs, made that bold attempt of deſiring the queen to give him a commiſſi-

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on to be general for life. Her majesty's answer was, That she would take time to consider of it; and, in the mean-while, the duke advised with the lord *Cowper*, then chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair; and protested he would never put the great seal to such a commission.

But the queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the duke, and talked to a person whom she had then taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The duke of *Argyle*, and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the queen. This duke was under great obligations to the duke of *Marlborough*, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his general. When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the duke of *Marlborough's* request to be general for life; and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal; I was told, he suddenly answered, That her majesty need not be in pain; for he would undertake, whenever she commanded,

manded, to seize the duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive.

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the earl of *Godolphin*, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on under the name of *Volpone*, as my lord *Sommers*, a few months after, confessed to me; and, at the same time that he had earnestly and in vain endeavoured to dissuade the earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on in the form and manner which every body knows, and therefore there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr. *Harley*, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. *Masham*, privately brought to the queen, and, in some meetings, easily convinced her majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial in favour of the church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr. *Harley* was able to procure this private access to the queen; the duchess of *Marlborough*, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the backstairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him; whereof he told me a passage, no otherwise worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an insolent, jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his sovereign. Mr. *Harley*, upon his removal from the secretary's office, by the intrigues of the duke of *Marl-*

Marlborough and earl of *Godolphin*, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two lords near *Kensington-gate*. The earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr. *Harley*, and was hardly so civil as to be convinced with her majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary.

These suspicions, I say, made it hard for her majesty and Mr. *Harley* to have private interviews; neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her, as she seemed to expect, and desired; although Mrs. *Masham*, in right of her station in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing what Mr. *Harley* had begun. In this critical juncture, the queen, hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the duchess of *Marlborough* and her creatures, was at a loss how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. *Harley*, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger; he read the superscription, and saw it was the queen's writing; he sent for the messenger, who said, he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an under-gardener, I forget whether of *Hampton-Court* or *Kensington*. The letter mentioned the difficulties her majesty was under, blaming him for not speaking with more freedom, and more particularly; and desiring his assistance. With this encouragement he went more frequently, although still as private as possible, to the back-

stairs;

ſtairs ; and from that time began to have entire credit with the queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itſelf, from the counſels and actions of ſome of her ſervants : That ſhe ought gradually to leſſen the exorbitant power of the duke and ducheſs of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*, by taking the diſpoſition of employments into her own hands : That it did not become her to be a ſlave to a party ; but to reward thoſe who may deſerve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were ſuch as were called of the *high-church* or *low-church*. In ſhort, whatever views he had then in his own breaſt, or how far ſoever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole diſcourſe was intended, in appearance, only to put the queen upon what they called a moderating ſcheme ; which however made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon her, that when this miniſter, led by the neceſſity of affairs, the general diſpoſition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her majeſty upon going greater lengths than ſhe had firſt intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and ſome inſuperable ; as we ſhall ſee in the progreſs of this change.

Her majeſty, purſuant to Mr. *Harley's* advice, reſolved to diſpoſe of the firſt great employment that fell, according to her own pleaſure, without conſulting any of her miniſters. To put this in execution, an opportunity ſoon happened by the death of the earl of *Eſſex*, whereby the lieutenancy

cy of the *Tower* became vacant. It was agreed between the queen and Mr. *Harley*, that the earl *Rivers* ſhould go immediately to the duke of *Marlborough*, and deſire his grace's good offices with the queen, to procure him that poſt. The earl went accordingly, was received with abundance of profeſſions of kindneſs by the duke, who ſaid the lieutenancy of the *Tower* was not worth his lordſhip's acceptance, and deſired him to think of ſomething elſe. The earl ſtill inſiſted, and the duke ſtill continued to put him off; at length, lord *Rivers* deſired his grace's conſent to let him go himſelf and beg this favour of the queen, and hoped he might tell her majeſty, his grace had no objection to him. All this the duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no conſequence. The earl went to the queen, who immediately gave orders for his commiſſion. He had not long left the queen's preſence, when the duke of *Marlborough*, ſuſpecting nothing that would happen, went to the queen, and told her, the lieutenancy of the *Tower* falling void by the death of the earl of *Eſſex*, he hoped her majeſty would beſtow it upon the duke of *Northumberland*, and give the *Oxford*-regiment, then commanded by that duke, to the earl of *Hertford*. The queen ſaid, he was come too late; that ſhe had already granted the lieutenancy to earl *Rivers*, who had told her that he [the duke] had no objection to him. The duke, much ſurprized at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her majeſty's preſence, was however forced to ſubmit.

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The queen went on by ſlow degrees. Not to mention ſome changes of leſſer moment, the duke of *Kent* was forced to compound for his chamberlain's ſtaff, which was given to the duke of *Shrewſbury*, while the earl of *Godolphin* was out of town, I think at *Newmarket*: His lordſhip, on the firſt news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the duke of *Shrewſbury* as he was capable of. The circumſtances of the earl of *Sunderland's* removal, and the reaſons alledged, are known enough. His ungovernable temper had overſwayed him to fail in his reſpects to her majeſty's perſon.

Mean-time both parties ſtood at gaze, not knowing to what theſe ſteps would lead, or where they would end. The earl of *Wharton*, then in *Ireland*, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneaſineſs as well as he could. Some of his ſanguine correſpondents had ſent him word, that the queen began to ſtop her hand, and the church party to deſpond. At the ſame time, the duke of *Shrewſbury* happened to ſend him a letter filled with great expreſſions of civility: The earl was ſo weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three ſtanders-by, "Damn him, he is making fair weather with me; "but, by G—d, I will have his head."

But theſe ſhort hopes were ſoon blaſted, by taking the treaſurer's ſtaff from the earl of *Godolphin*; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her majeſty ſending him a letter, by a very ordinary

meſſenger, commanding him to break it. The treaſury was immediately put into commiſſion, with earl *Powlet* at the head; but Mr. *Harley*, who was one of the number, and at the ſame time made chancellor of the exchequer, was already ſuppoſed to preſide behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great miniſter and favourite, that whole party became diſpirited, and ſeemed to expect the worſt that could follow. The earl of *Wharton* immediately deſired and obtained leave to come for *England*, leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himſelf with the utmoſt profligateneſs, injuſtice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and deteſtation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, becauſe my coming into the knowledge of the new miniſtry began about this time, I muſt digreſs a little, to relate ſome circumſtances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no ſtranger at court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my ſtudy, yet I had dealt very little with politicks, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late king *William's* death; when, returning with the earl of *Berkley* from *Ireland*, and falling upon the ſubject of the five great lords, who were then impeached for high crimes and miſdemeanors, by the houſe of commons, I happened to ſay, that the ſame manner of proceeding, at leaſt as it appeared to me from the news we received of it in *Ireland*, had ruined the liber-

liberties of *Athens* and *Rome*, and that it might be eaſy to prove it from hiſtory. Soon after I went to *London*; and, in a few weeks, drew up a diſcourſe, under the title of, *The Conteſts and Diſſenſions of the Nobles and Commons in* Athens *and* Rome, *with the Conſequences they had upon both thoſe States.* This diſcourſe I ſent very privately to the preſs, with the ſtricteſt injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my reſidence in *Ireland*. The book was greedily bought, and read; and charged ſome time upon my lord *Sommers*, and ſome time upon the biſhop of *Saliſbury*; the latter of whom told me afterwards, that he was forced to diſown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment wherewith he was threatened [*a*].

Returning next year for *England*, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received (which was the firſt I ever printed [*b*]) I muſt confeſs, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me, to let myſelf be known for the author: Upon which my lords *Sommers* and *Halifax*, as well as the

[*a*] Vide *Swift's* eſſay upon the life, writings, and character of Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, chap. vi. p. 121. where there is a droll, pleaſant dialogue, between Dr. *Swift* and biſhop *Sheridan*, relating to this famous tract.

[*b*] Meaning the firſt political piece he had ever printed: otherwiſe it is not true. For the Tale of a Tub, and the Battle of the Books, were printed in or about the year 1697. Or, perhaps, Doctor *Swift*, having not thought proper to acknowledge himſelf the author of thoſe pieces, imagined he had a right to ſay, this diſcourſe was the firſt he had ever printed; two or three poems, in the *Athenian* Oracle, which were printed when he was a very young man, being not worth his remembrance.

biſhop abovementioned, deſired my acquaintance, with great marks of eſteem and profeſſions of kindneſs: Not to mention the earl of *Sunderland*, who had been my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to ſerve me ſince the death of the king, and were very liberal in promiſing me the greateſt preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I ſoon grew domeſtic with lord *Halifax*, and was as often with lord *Sommers* as the formality of his nature (the only unconverſable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myſelf with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myſelf in other, and, I think, much better ſpeculations. I talked often upon this ſubject with lord *Sommers*; told him, that, having been long converſant with the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myſelf much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politicks; and that, beſides, I thought it impoſſible, upon any other principle, to defend, or ſubmit to the Revolution: But, as to religion, I confeſſed myſelf to be an high-churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwiſe: That I had obſerved very well with what inſolence and haughtineſs ſome lords of the high-church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatſoever, and thought this was ſufficiently recompenſed by their profeſſions of zeal to the church: That I had likewiſe

obſerved how the whig lords took a direct contrary meaſure, treated the perſons of particular clergymen with great courteſy, but ſhewed much ill-will and contempt for the order in general: That I knew it was neceſſary for their party to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of proteſtants to be members of their body: That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either ſide; but that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the whigs to thoſe writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppoſe them: And, that I doubted his lordſhip's friends did not conſider the conſequence of this. My lord *Sommers*, in appearance, entered very warmly into the ſame opinion, and ſaid very much of the endeavours he had often uſed to redreſs that evil I complained of. This his lordſhip, as well as my lord *Hallifax* (to whom I have talked in the ſame manner), can very well remember: And I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the ſame party, that both their lordſhips, about the time of lord *Godolphin's* removal, did upon occaſion call to mind what I had ſaid to them five years before.

In my journeys to *England*, I continued upon the ſame foot of acquaintance with the two lords laſt mentioned, until the time of prince *George's* death, when the queen, who, as is before related, had for ſome years favoured that party, now made

lord *Sommers* preſident of the council, and the earl of *Wharton* lieutenant of *Ireland*. Being then in *London* I received letters from ſome biſhops of *Ireland*, to ſolicit the earl of *Wharton* about the remittal of the firſt-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the queen had long promiſed, and wherein I had been employed before, with ſome hopes of ſucceſs from the earl of *Godolphin*. It was the firſt time I ever was in company with the earl of *Wharton*: he received me with ſufficient coldneſs, and anſwered the requeſt I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuſes, which amounted to a refuſal. I complained of this uſage to lord *Sommers*, who would needs bring us together to his houſe, and preſent me to him; where he received me as dryly as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the earl of *Wharton* would endeavour, when he went to *Ireland*, to take off the Teſt, as a ſtep to have it taken off here: Upon which I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, ſhewing the danger to the church by ſuch an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and ſome others, gueſſed me to be the author, and told his excellency their ſuſpicions; whereupon I ſaw him no more until I went to *Ireland*. At my taking leave of lord *Sommers*, he deſired I would carry a letter from him to the earl of *Wharton*, which I abſolutely refuſed; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I ſtaid ſome months in *Leiceſterſhire*, went

went to *Ireland*; and, immediately upon my landing, retired to my country-parish, without seeing the lieutenant, or any other person; resolving to send him lord *Sommers's* letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant intreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his secretary Mr. *Addison*, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance.

Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me, which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mention these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself; it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to shew their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low-party. Whereas it hath been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken: For instance, *A Project for the reformation of Manners, in a letter to the Countess of* Berkeley; *The Sentiments of a Church-of-*England-*man*; *An Argument against abolishing Christianity*;

and, laſtly, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament againſt taking off the Teſt in* Ireland, which I have already mentioned to have been publiſhed at the time the earl of *Wharton* was ſetting out to his government of that kingdom. But thoſe who are loud and violent in coffee-houſes, although generally they do a cauſe more hurt than good, yet will ſeldom allow any other merit; and it is not to ſuch as theſe that I attempt to vindicate myſelf.

About the end of *Auguſt* 1710, I went for *England*, at the deſire, and by the appointment, of the archbiſhops and biſhops of that kingdom; under whoſe hands I had a commiſſion to ſolicit, in conjunction with two biſhops who were then in *London*, the firſt-fruits and twentieths to the clergy, which had been many years ſolicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two biſhops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myſelf introduced to Mr. *Harley*, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and acted as firſt miniſter. He received me with great kindneſs; told me, that he and his friends had long expected my arrival; and, upon ſhewing my commiſſion, immediately undertook to perform it, which he accordingly did in leſs than three weeks, having ſettled it at five meetings with the queen, according to a ſcheme I offered him, and got me the queen's promiſe for a further and more important favour to the clergy of *Ireland*; which the biſhops there, deceived by miſinformation, not worth mentioning

ing in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good iſſue.

When the affair of the firſt-fruits was fully diſpatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. *Harley*, in the name of the clergy of *Ireland* and of my own, and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. *Harley* told me, he and his friends knew very well what uſeful things I had written againſt the principles of the late diſcarded faction; and that my perſonal eſteem for ſeveral among them, would not make me a favourer of their cauſe: That there was now entirely a new ſcene: That the queen was reſolved to employ none but thoſe who were friends to the conſtitution of church and ſtate: That their great difficulty lay in the want of ſome good pen, to keep up the ſpirit raiſed in the people, to aſſert the principles, and juſtify the proceedings, of the new miniſters. *Upon that ſubject he fell into ſome perſonal civilities, which will not become me to repeat* [c]. He added, That this province was in the hands of ſeveral perſons, among whom ſome were too buſy, and others too idle to purſue it; and concluded, that it ſhould be his particular care, to eſtabliſh me here in *England*, and repreſent me to the queen as a perſon they could not be without.

I promiſed to do my endeavours, in that way, for ſome few months; to which he replied, He ex-

[c] Theſe words printed in *Italicks* are in the original eraſed, perhaps to avoid the imputation of vanity.

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pected no more; and that he had other and greater occasions for me.'

Upon the rise of this ministry, the principal persons in power thought it necessary, that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflexions upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of her majesty. This was begun about the time of the Lord *Godolphin's* removal, under the title of *The Examiner*. About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr. secretary *St. John*, since lord *Bolingbroke*; others by Dr. *Atterbury*, since bishop of *Rochester*; and others again by Mr. *Prior*, Dr. *Freind*, &c. were published with great applause. But, these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwise employed, the determination was, that I should continue it, which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her majesty's death.

It was Mr. *Harley's* custom, every *Saturday*, to have four or five of his most intimate friends, among those he had taken in upon the great change made at court, to dine at his house; and, after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at first, consisted only of the lord-keeper *Harcourt*, the earl *Rivers*, the earl of *Peterborough*, Mr. secretary *St. John*, and myself: And here, after

dinner, they uſed to diſcourſe, and ſettle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterwards, by degrees, admitted; as, the dukes of *Ormond*, *Shrewſbury*, and *Argyle*; the earls of *A——y*, *Dartmouth*, and *P——t*; the lord *B——y* &c. Theſe meetings were always continued, except when the queen was at *Windſor*; but, as they grew more numerous, became of leſs conſequence; and ended only in drinking and general converſation; of which I may, perhaps, have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

My early appearance at theſe meetings, which many thought to be of greater conſequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I uſed all my endeavours to that purpoſe. This gave the occaſion to ſome great men, who thought me already in the ſecret, to complain to me of the ſuſpicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr. *Harley*, even before he was lord treaſurer; ſo early were ſown thoſe ſeeds of diſcontent, which afterwards grew up ſo high. The cauſe of their complaint was, That ſo great a number of the adverſe party continued in employment; and ſome, particularly the duke of *Somerſet* and earl of *Cholmondely*, in great ſtations at court. They could not believe Mr. *Harley* was in earneſt; but that he deſigned to conſtitute a motly comprehenſive adminiſtration, which they ſaid the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of ſome lords and gentlemen, where theſe grievances were at large related to me, with an earneſt

earneſt deſire that I would repreſent them in the moſt reſpectful manner to Mr. *Harley*, upon a ſuppoſition that I was in high credit with him. I excuſed myſelf from ſuch an office, upon the newneſs of my acquaintance with Mr. *Harley*; however, I repreſented the matter fairly to him; againſt which he argued a good deal, from the general reaſons of politicians; the neceſſity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of diſobliging thoſe who muſt remain unprovided for, and the like uſual topicks among ſtateſmen. But there was a ſecret in this matter, which neither I, nor indeed any of his moſt intimate friends, were then appriſed of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me further than to aſſure me very ſolemnly, That no perſon ſhould have the ſmalleſt employment, either civil or military, whoſe principles were not firm for the church and monarchy.

However, theſe over-moderate proceedings in the court gave riſe to a party in the houſe of commons, which appeared under the name of the *October-club*; a fantaſtic appellation, found out to diſtinguiſh a number of country gentlemen and their adherents, who profeſſed in the greateſt degree what was called the *high-church* principle. They grew in number to almoſt a third part of the houſe, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what meaſures they were to take in parliament. They profeſſed their jealouſy of the court and miniſtry; declared, upon all occaſions, their deſire of a more general change, as well as of a ſtrict

a ſtrict enquiry into former miſmanagement; and ſeemed to expect, that thoſe in power ſhould openly avow the old principles in church and ſtate. I was then of opinion, and ſtill continue ſo, that, if this body of men could have remained ſome time united, they would have put the crown under a neceſſity of acting in a more ſteady and ſtrenuous manner. But Mr. *Harley*, who beſt knew the diſpoſition of the queen, was forced to break their meaſures; which he did by that very obvious contrivance of dividing them among themſelves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The miniſters gave every where out, that the *October-club* were their friends, and acted by their directions; to confirm which, Mr. ſecretary *St. John* and Mr. *B*——, afterwards chancellor of the exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the conſequences of that aſſembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themſelves betrayed by the reſt, did afterwards meet under the denomination of the *March-club*, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then roſe, had been choſen without any endeavours from the court, to ſecure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenancies changed throughout the kingdom. For the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel* had raiſed, or diſcovered, ſuch a ſpirit in all parts, that the miniſters could very ſafely leave the electors to themſelves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by

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ſome refiners of both parties, numbered among the ſtrains of Mr. *Harley's* politicks, who was ſaid to avoid an over-great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a miniſtry. But, from the ſmall experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worſt ſort of all conjectures; and, from this one occaſion, I take leave to obſerve, That of ſome hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I neither yet knew any refiners to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reaſon why the court did not interpoſe in the matter of elections was, becauſe they thought themſelves ſure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Beſides, it afterwards appeared upon ſome exigencies, which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once like to fail for want of numbers. Mr. *Harley*, in order to give credit to his adminiſtration, reſolved upon two very important points; firſt, to ſecure the unprovided debts of the nation; and, ſecondly to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compaſs both thoſe ends, I have treated at large in another work: I ſhall only obſerve, that, while he was preparing to open to the houſe of commons his ſcheme for ſecuring the public debts, he was ſtabbed by the marquis *de Guiſcard*, while he was ſitting in the council-chamber at the *Cock-pit*, with a committee of nine or ten lords of the cabinet, met on purpoſe to examine the marquis upon a diſcovery of a treaſonable correſpondence he held with *France*.

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This fact was so uncommon in the manner and circumstances of it, that, although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furnished the author with some materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The assassin was seized, by Mr. *Harley's* order, upon the eighth of *March* 1710-11; and, brought before the committee of lords, was examined about his corresponding with *France:* Upon his denial, Mr. *Harley* produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The marquis, prepared for mischief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket while the messenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the surprize of his letter appearing against him, he came suddenly behind Mr. *Harley*, and, reaching his arm round, stabbed that minister into the middle of the breast, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago ensiformis*; the penknife, striking upon the bone, and otherwise obstructed by a thick embroidered waistcoat, broke short at the handle, which *Guiscard* still grasped, and redoubled his blow. The confusion upon this accident is easier conceived than described: The result was, that the marquis, whether by the wounds given him by some of the lords, or the bruises he received from the messengers while they were seizing him, or the neglect of his surgeon, or, that being unwilling to live, he industriously concealed one of his wounds, died in a few days after.

after. But Mr. *Harley*, after a long illneſs and frequent ill-ſymptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiſcard was the younger brother of the count of that name, a very honourable and worthy perſon, formerly governor of *Namur*. But this marquis was a reproach to his family, proſtitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his prince: As to the reſt, of a very poor underſtanding, and the moſt tedious, trifling talker, I ever converſed with. He was grown needy by ſquandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in *Holland*, his regiment taken from him, and his penſion retrenched; the deſpair of which firſt put him upon his *French* correſpondence; and the diſcovery of that drove him into madneſs. I had known him ſome years; and, meeting him upon the *Mall* a few hours before his examination, I obſerved to a friend then with me, that I wondered to ſee *Guiſcard* paſs ſo often by without taking notice of me. But although, in the latter part of his life his countenance grew cloudy enough, yet I confeſs I never ſuſpected him to be a man of reſolution or courage ſufficient to bear him out in ſo deſperate an attempt.

I have ſome very good reaſons to know, that the firſt miſunderſtanding between Mr. *Harley* and Mr. *St. John*, which afterwards had ſuch unhappy conſequences upon the public affairs, took it's riſe during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr. *St. John* affected

affected to say in several companies, that *Guiscard* intended the blow against him; which, if it were true, the consequence must be, that Mr. *St. John* had all the merit, while Mr. *Harley* remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr. *St. John* was either mistaken or misinformed: However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called *The Examiner*, which Mr. *St. John* perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in that passage.

This management was looked upon, at least, as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr. *St. John*; and, perhaps, was represented in a worse view to Mr. *Harley*: Neither am I altogether sure, that Mr. *St. John* did not entertain some prospect of succeeding as first minister, in case of Mr. *Harley's* death; which, during his illness, was frequently apprehended. And, I remember very well, that, upon visiting Mr. *Harley*, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several of his nearest relations talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr. *St. John*; enough to make me apprehend, that their friendship would not be of any long continuance.

Mr. *Harley*, soon after his recovery, was made an earl, and lord treasurer; and lord keeper, a baron.

PREFACE

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Four laſt Years of Queen *Anne's* Reign.

HAVING written the following Hiſtory at *Windſor*, in the happy reign of her majeſty queen *Anne*, of ever glorious, bleſſed, and immortal memory; I reſolved to publiſh it, for the ſatisfaction of my fellow-ſubjects, in the year 1713; but being under a neceſſity of going to *Ireland*, to take poſſeſſion of the Deanry of *St. Patrick's*, *Dublin*, I left the original with the miniſters; and having ſtaid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found at my return, that my lord treaſurer *Oxford*, and the ſecretary my lord *Bolingbroke*, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publiſhing it, without ſome alterations which I would not ſubmit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her majeſty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever ſince preſerved the original very ſafely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the *German* family's ſucceeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been eſtabliſhed ſolemnly by the act of

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an undiſputed parliament, brought into the houſe of commons by Mr. *Harley*, who was then ſpeaker.

But, as I have ſaid in another diſcourſe, it was very well underſtood, ſome years before her majeſty's death, how the new king would act immediately upon his entrance in the choice of thoſe (and thoſe alone) whom he reſolved to truſt; and conſequently what reports would induſtriouſly be raiſed, as well as ſpread, to expoſe the proceedings of her majeſty herſelf, as well as of her ſervants; who have been ever ſince blaſted as enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment, by the moſt ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily converſant with the perſons then in power; never abſent in times of buſineſs or converſation, until a few weeks before her majeſty's death; and a witneſs of almoſt every ſtep they made in the courſe of their adminiſtration; I muſt have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than thoſe miſerable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the ſame time, I freely confeſs, it appeared neceſſary, as well as natural, upon ſuch a mighty change as the death of a ſovereign, that thoſe who were to be in power upon the ſucceſſion, and reſolved to act in every part by a direct contrary ſyſtem of politics, ſhould load their predeceſſors with as much infamy as the moſt inveterate malice and envy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt ſtupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could ſwallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write with the utmoſt impartiality the following Hiſtory of the four laſt years of her majeſty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced perſons at preſent, as well as poſterity; I am perſuaded in my own mind, as likewiſe by the advice of my oldeſt and wiſeſt friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to ſet future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful hiſtorian, I cannot ſuffer falſehoods to run on any longer, not only againſt all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even againſt thoſe happy events, which owe their ſucceſs to the very meaſures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials for this Hiſtory, beſides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence repoſed in me for thoſe four years by the chief perſons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambaſſadors abroad, and from the anſwers as well as inſtructions ſent them by our ſecretaries of ſtate, or by the firſt miniſter the earl of *Oxford*. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the ſecretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention ſeveral memorials given me by the miniſters at home. Further, I was a conſtant witneſs and obſerver of all that paſſed, and entered every particular of any conſequence upon paper.

I was ſo far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her majeſty iſſued a pro-

a proclamation, offering 300*l.* to any perſon who would diſcover the author of a certain ſhort treatiſe [*d*], which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one ſhilling from the miniſter, or any other preſent, except that of a few books; nor did I want their aſſiſtance to ſupport me. I very often dined indeed with the treaſurer and ſecretary; but, in thoſe days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time ſince. I abſolutely refuſed to be chaplain to the lord treaſurer; becauſe I thought it would ill become me to be in a ſtate of dependence.

I ſay this to ſhew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of perſons and affairs. I preſerved ſeveral of the oppoſite party in their employments, who were perſons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. *Addiſon* and Mr. *Congreve*, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treaſurer, who much eſteemed them both; and, by his lordſhip's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. *Steele* might have been ſafe enough, if his continually-repeated indiſcretions, and a zeal mingled with ſcurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberleſs prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of thoſe, who, to ſerve their own intereſt or ambition, have caſt off all religion, morality, juſtice,

[*d*] Public Spirit of the Whigs.

and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the preſent age, yet I hope to be ſo in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of *England*, if either of theſe ſhall then ſubſiſt or not.

I have no intereſt or inclination to palliate the miſtakes, or omiſſions, or want of ſteadineſs, or unhappy miſunderſtandings, among a few of thoſe who then preſided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of ſuperficial and ill-informed writers, againſt the conduct of thoſe who are now called prime miniſters: And, ſince factions appear at preſent to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not ſo equally poiſed; it may probably concern thoſe who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memories in future ages, to be leſs warm againſt others who humbly differ from them in ſome ſtate opinions. Old perſons remember, at leaſt by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed againſt the firſt earl of *Clarendon*, whoſe character, as it now ſtands, might be a pattern for all miniſters; although even biſhop *Burnet* of *Sarum*, whoſe principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are ſo little eſteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the treaſurer and ſecretary *Bolingbroke*, after my utmoſt endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them, I retired to a friend in *Berkſhire*, where I ſtaid until

til her majesty's death; and then immediately returned to my station in *Dublin*, where I continued about twelve years without once seeing *England*. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing or adding further than by correcting the style: and, if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I shall not be very uneasy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be cast upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And, yet, I cannot find the least inconsistence with conscience or honour, upon the death of so excellent a princess as her late majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Protestant successor; whose hereditary title was confirmed by the queen and both houses of parliament, with the greatest unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther; that, if the negotiators of that peace had been chosen out of the most professed zealots for the interest of the *Hanover* family, they could not have bound up the *French* king, or the *Hollanders*, more strictly than the queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the present succession; which was in them so much a

greater mark of virtue and loyalty, becauſe they perfectly well knew, that they ſhould never receive the leaſt mark of favour, when the ſucceſſion had taken place.

☞ See Letters LXVII. and LXVIII. in vol. XVI. to the Earl of *Oxford* and Mr. *Lewis*; where the reaſons of the following Hiſtory's having been ſo long ſuppreſſed are laid before the reader.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK I.

I Propoſe to give the publick an account of the moſt important affairs at home, during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, as well as of our negociations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but ſome time before and ſince. I ſhall relate the chief matters tranſacted by both houſes in that ſeſſion, and diſcover the deſigns carried on by the heads of a diſcontented party, not only againſt the miniſtry, but in ſome manner againſt the crown itſelf: I likewiſe ſhall ſtate the debts of the nation, ſhew by what miſmanagement, and to ſerve what purpoſes, they were at firſt contracted, by what negligence or corruption they have ſo prodigiouſly grown, and what methods have ſince been taken to provide not only for their payment, but to pre-

vent the like miſchief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I ſhall ſtrictly follow truth, or what reaſonably appeared to me to be ſuch, after the moſt impartial inquiries I could make, and the beſt opportunities of being informed by thoſe who were the principal actors or adviſers.

Neither ſhall I mingle panegyrick or ſatire with an hiſtory intended to inform poſterity, as well as to inſtruct thoſe of the preſent age, who may be ignorant or miſled; ſince facts, truly related, are the beſt applauſes, or moſt laſting reproaches.

Diſcourſes upon ſubjects relating to the publick uſually ſeem to be calculated for *London* only, and ſome few miles about it; while the authors ſuppoſe their readers to be informed of ſeveral particulars, to which thoſe that live remote are, for the generality, utter ſtrangers. Moſt people who frequent this town acquire a ſort of ſmattering (ſuch as it is), which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by innuendoes or hints at facts or perſons, initial letters of names, wherein gentlemen at a diſtance, although perhaps of much better underſtandings, are wholly in the dark: wherefore, that theſe memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and uſeful, it will be convenient to give the reader a ſhort view of the ſtate and diſpoſition of affairs, when the laſt ſeſſion of parliament began; and becauſe the party-leaders, who had loſt their power and places, were, upon that juncture, employing

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all their engines in an attempt to re-eſtabliſh themſelves, I ſhall venture one ſtep further, and repreſent ſo much of their characters as may be ſuppoſed to have influenced their politicks.

On the 7th day of *December*, 1711, began the ſecond ſeſſion of parliament. It was now above a year ſince the queen had thought fit to put the great offices of ſtate, and of her own houſhold, into other hands: however, three of the diſcontented lords were ſtill in poſſeſſion of their places; for the duke of *Marlborough* continued general, the duke of *Somerſet* maſter of the horſe, and the earl of *Cholmondely* treaſurer of her majeſty's houſhold: likewiſe great numbers of the ſame party ſtill kept employments of value and importance, which had not been uſual of late years, upon any changes of miniſtry. The queen, who judged the temper of her people by this houſe of commons, which a landed intereſt had freely choſen, found them very deſirous of a ſecure and honourable peace, and diſpoſed to leave the management of it to her own wiſdom, and that of her own council: ſhe had therefore, ſeveral months before the ſeſſion began, ſent to inform the States General of ſome overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and during that ſummer her majeſty took ſeveral farther ſteps in that great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congreſs at *Utrecht* for a general peace was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negociations, between our court and

and that of *France*, I ſhall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot, with reſpect to its debts; for the earl of *Oxford*, lord treaſurer, had, in the preceding ſeſſion, propoſed and effected ways and means in the houſe of commons (where he was then a member), for providing a parliamentary fund to clear the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greateſt part lay upon the navy), without any new burthen (at leaſt after a very few years) to the kingdom; and at the ſame time he took care to prevent farther incumbrances upon that article, by finding ready money for naval proviſions, which hath ſaved the public ſomewhat more than *cent. per cent.* in that mighty branch of our expences.

The clergy were altogether in the intereſts and the meaſures of the preſent miniſtry, which had appeared ſo boldly in their defence, during a proſecution againſt one of their members, where the whole Sacred Order was underſtood to be concerned. The zeal ſhewn for that moſt religious bill, to ſettle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of *London*, was a freſh obligation; and they were farther highly gratified, by her majeſty's chuſing one of their body to be a great officer of ſtate [*f*].

By this time likewiſe all diſputes about theſe principles, which uſed originally to divide Whig and

[*f*] Dr. *Robinſon*, lord biſhop of *Briſtol*, to be lord privy ſeal.

Tory,

Tory, were wholly dropped; and thoſe fantaſtical words ought in juſtice to have been ſo too, provided we could have found out more convenient names, whereby to diſtinguiſh lovers of peace from lovers of war; or thoſe who would leave her majeſty ſome degree of freedom in the choice of her miniſters, from others who could not be ſatisfied with her chuſing any, except ſuch as ſhe was moſt averſe from: but where a nation is once divided, intereſt and animoſity will keep open the breach, without being ſupported by any other principles; or, at worſt, a body of diſcontented people can change, and take up what principles they pleaſe.

As to the diſpoſition of the oppoſite party, we all remember, that the removal of the laſt miniſtry was brought about by ſeveral degrees; through which means it happened, that they and their friends were hardly recovered out of one aſtoniſhment, before they fell into another. This ſcene laſted for ſome months, and was followed by a period of rage and deſpair, natural to thoſe who reflect that they have loſt a ſecure game by their own raſhneſs, folly, and want of common management; when at the ſame time they knew, by experience, that a watchful and dexterous adverſary lay ready to take the advantage. However, ſome time before the ſeſſion, the heads of that party began to recollect themſelves, and rally their forces, like an enemy who hath been beaten out of the field, but finds he is not purſued; for although the chiefs

chiefs of this faction were thought to have but little eſteem or friendſhip for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general end, of diſtreſſing, by all poſſible methods, the new adminiſtration; wherein if they could ſucceed, ſo far as to put the queen under any great neceſſity, another parliament muſt be called, and perhaps the power devolve again into their own hands.

The iſſue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houſes, although under a different form, upon the very firſt day the parliament met, I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greateſt privacy and application, which muſt be acknowledged to have, for ſeveral days, diſconcerted ſome of the miniſtry, as well as diſpirited their friends; and the conſequences thereof, which have, in reality, been ſo very pernicious to the kingdom.

But becauſe the principal leaders in this deſign are the ſame perſons to whom, ſince the loſs of their power, all the oppoſition has been owing, which the court received either in treaties abroad, or the adminiſtration at home: it may not be improper to deſcribe thoſe qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their ſeveral parts upon the public ſtage; for I do not intend to draw their characters intire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpoſe; but ſhall only ſingle out thoſe paſſions, acquirements,

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and habits, which the owners were moſt likely to transfer into their political ſchemes, and which were moſt ſubſervient to the deſigns they ſeemed to have in view.

The lord *Sommers* may very deſervedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party: he hath raiſed himſelf, by the concurrence of many circumſtances, to the greateſt employments of the ſtate, without the leaſt ſupport from birth or fortune: he hath conſtantly, and with great ſteadineſs, cultivated thoſe principles under which he grew. That accident which firſt produced him into the world, of pleading for the biſhops, whom king *James* had ſent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit as honourable as it was fortunate; but the old republican ſpirit, which the Revolution had reſtored, began to teach other leſſons; that, ſince we had accepted a new king from a Calviniſtical commonwealth, we muſt alſo admit new maxims in religion and government: but ſince the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the eſtabliſhed church, and to the rights of monarchy as delivered down from their anceſtors; it was the practice of thoſe politicians to introduce ſuch men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from thoſe to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the perſon I am now deſcribing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preſerve the favour of a prince, never offending in word or geſture, in the higheſt degree

gree courteous and complaiſant, wherein he ſet an excellent example to his collegues, which they did not think fit to follow; but this extreme civility is univerſal and undiſtinguiſhed, and in private converſation, where he obſerveth it as inviolably as if he were in the greateſt aſſembly, it is ſometimes cenſured as formal: two reaſons are aſſigned for this behaviour; firſt, from the conſciouſneſs of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmoſt diſtance, which otherwiſe might be apt to intrude; the ſecond, that, being ſenſible how ſubject he is to violent paſſions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching thoſe he converſes with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and reſpect; and it is, indeed, true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the leaſt appearance of provocation, which temper he ſtrives to ſubdue with the utmoſt violence upon himſelf: ſo that his breaſt has been ſeen to heave, and his eyes to ſparkle with rage, in thoſe very moments, when his words, and the cadence of his voice, were in the humbleſt and ſofteſt manner; perhaps, that force upon his nature may cauſe that inſatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who conſequently reckon diſſimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he hath none; and his ambition is gratified, by being the unconteſted head of his party. With an excellent underſtanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath very little taſte for converſation, to which he prefers the pleaſure of reading and thinking;

thinking; and in the intervals of his time amuſeth himſelf with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite ſervant.

Theſe are ſome few diſtinguiſhing marks in the character of that perſon, who now preſideth over the diſcontented party; although he be not anſwerable for all their miſtakes: and if his precepts had been more ſtrictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been ſo eaſily ſhaken. I have been aſſured, and heard him profeſs, that he was againſt engaging in that fooliſh proſecution of Dr. *Sacheverel*, as what he foreſaw was likely to end in their ruin; that he blamed the rough demeanour of ſome perſons to the queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that, when it appeared her majeſty was firmly reſolved upon a treaty of peace, he adviſed his friends not to oppoſe it in its progreſs, but find fault with it after it was made, which would be a copy of the like uſage themſelves had met with after the treaty of *Ryſwick*; and the ſafeſt as well as the moſt probable way of diſgracing the promoters and adviſers. I have been the larger in repreſenting to the reader ſome idea of this extraordinary genius, becauſe whatever attempt hath hitherto been made, with any appearance of conduct or probability of ſucceſs, to reſtore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I propheſy the ſame for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of buſineſs.

The duke of *Marlborough's* character hath been ſo variouſly drawn, and is indeed of ſo mixed a

nature in itſelf, that it is hard to pronounce on either ſide without the ſuſpicion of flattery or detraction. I ſhall ſay nothing of his military accompliſhments, which the oppoſite reports of his friends and enemies among the ſoldiers have rendered problematical: but if he be among thoſe who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reaſons common with other generals. Thoſe maligners, who deny him perſonal valour, ſeem not to conſider, that this accuſation is charged at a venture; ſince the perſon of a wiſe general is too ſeldom expoſed to form any judgment in the matter: and that fear, which is ſaid to have ſometimes diſconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himſelf. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory principle, and continued with a ſtrong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in ſome ſort ſupplied by a good underſtanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his ſoliciting to be General for life: I am perſuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquiſites, by continuing the war; and that he had *then* no intentions of ſettling the crown in his family, his only ſon having been dead ſome years before. He is noted to be maſter of great temper, able to govern or very well to diſguiſe his paſſions, which are all melted down or

extinguiſhed in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with reſpect of money, he makes up by a great profuſion of promiſes; but this perfection, ſo neceſſary in courts, is not very ſucceſsful in camps among ſoldiers, who are not refined enough to underſtand or to reliſh it.

His wife the ducheſs may juſtly challenge her place in this liſt. It is to her the duke is chiefly indebted for his greatneſs and his fall; for above twenty years ſhe poſſeſſed, without a rival, the favours of the moſt indulgent miſtreſs in the world, nor ever miſſed one ſingle opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage. She hath preſerved a tolerable court-reputation, with reſpect to love and gallantry; but three furies reigned in her breaſt, the moſt mortal enemies of all ſofter paſſions, which were ſordid avarice, diſdainful pride, and ungovernable rage; by the laſt of theſe often breaking out in ſallies of the moſt unpardonable ſort, ſhe had long alienated her ſovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without ſome degree of wit, and hath in her time affected the character of it, by the uſual method of arguing againſt religion, and proving the doctrines of Chriſtianity to be impoſſible and abſurd. Imagine what ſuch a ſpirit, irritated by the loſs of power, favour, and employment, is capable of acting or attempting, and then I have ſaid enough.

The next in order to be mentioned is the earl of *Godolphin:* it is ſaid, he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a

page at court, which ſome have very unjuſtly objected as a reproach. He hath riſen gradually in four reigns, and was more conſtant to his ſecond maſter king *James*, than ſome others who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated king to the ſea-ſide, and kept conſtant correſpondence with him till the day of his death. He always profeſſed a ſort of paſſion for the queen at *St. Germain's*; and his letters were to her in the ſtyle of what the *French* call *double-entendre*. In a mixture of love and reſpect, he uſed frequently to ſend her from hence little preſents of thoſe things which are agreeable to ladies, for which he always aſked king *William's* leave, as if without her privity; becauſe, if ſhe had known that circumſtance, it was to be ſuppoſed ſhe would not accept them. Phyſiognomiſts would hardly diſcover, by conſulting the aſpect of this lord, that his predominant paſſions were love and play; that he could ſometimes ſcratch out a ſong in praiſe of his miſtreſs with a pencil and card; or that he hath tears at command, like a woman, to be uſed either in an intrigue of gallantry or politicks. His alliance with the *Marlborough* family and his paſſion for the ducheſs, were the cords which dragged him into a party, whoſe principles he naturally diſliked and whoſe leaders he perſonally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert, by a perfect trifle, taking fire at a nickname [g] delivered by Dr. *Sacheverel*, with great

[g] Volpone.

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indiſcretion from the pulpit, which he applied to himſelf: and this is one, among many inſtances given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The earl of *Sunderland* is another of that alliance. It ſeems to have been this gentleman's fortune to have learned his divinity from his uncle, and his politicks from his tutor [*b*]. It may be thought a blemiſh in his character, that he hath much fallen from the height of thoſe republican principles with which he began; for in his father's life-time, while he was a member of the houſe of commons, he would often among his familiar friends refuſe the title of Lord (as he hath done to myſelf), ſwear he would never be called otherwiſe than *Charles Spencer*, and hoped to ſee the day when there ſhould not be a peer in *England*. His underſtanding, at the beſt, is of the middling ſize; neither hath he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an over-grown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his ſovereign from the lady he is allied to, or whether it be the reſult of his own nature. The ſenſe of the injuries he hath done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards thoſe to whom he hath given greateſt cauſe to complain; for which reaſon he will never forgive either the queen or the preſent treaſurer.

[*b*] Dr. *Trimnel*, ſince Biſhop of *Winton*.

The earl of *Wharton* hath filled the province allotted him by his collegues, with ſufficiency equal to the ableſt of them all. He hath imbibed his father's [*b*] principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its ſtead: excepting that circumſtance he is a firm Preſbyterian. He is perfectly ſkilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleaſure for making converts of young men of quality, upon their firſt appearance; in which public ſervice he contracted ſuch large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere juſtice, to leave *Ireland* at his mercy, where he had only time to ſet himſelf right. Although the graver heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be aſhamed of him; for, beſides his talents above-mentioned, he is very uſeful in parliament, being a ready ſpeaker, and content to employ his gift upon ſuch occaſions where thoſe who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modeſty are aſhamed to appear. In ſhort, he is an unconteſtable inſtance to diſcover the true nature of faction; ſince, being over-run with every quality which produceth contempt and hatred in all other commerce of the world, he hath notwithſtanding been able to make ſo conſiderable a figure.

The lord *Cowper*, although his merits are later than the reſt, deſerveth a rank in this great council. He was conſiderable in the ſtation of a practiſing

[*b*] The earl, his father, was a rigid Preſbyterian.

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lawyer; but as he was raiſed to be a chancellor and a peer, without paſſing through any of the intermediate ſteps, which in late times had been the conſtant practice, and little ſkilled in the nature of government, or the true intereſt of princes, further than the municipal or common law of *England*; his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some former paſſages of his life were thought to diſqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conſcience; but theſe difficulties were eaſily over-ruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a perſon that would be ſubſervient to all their deſigns, wherein they were not diſappointed. As to his other accompliſhments, he was what we uſually call a piece of a ſcholar, and a good logical reaſoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which made him apt to deceive the unwary, and ſometimes to deceive himſelf.

The laſt to be ſpoken of in this liſt is the earl of *Nottingham*, a convert and acquiſition to that party ſince their fall, to which he contributed his aſſiſtance, I mean his words, and probably his wiſhes; for he had always lived under the conſtant viſible profeſſion of principles, directly oppoſite to thoſe of his new friends: his vehement and frequent ſpeeches againſt admitting the prince of *Orange* to the throne, are yet to be ſeen; and although a numerous family gave a ſpecious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an enployment under

that monarch; yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of allegiance to his exiled master, of which his friends produce several instances, and some while he was secretary of state to king *William*. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and seeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, so they are the excuse for that stiffness and formality with which his nature is fraught. His adust complexion disposeth him to rigour and severity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a sincerer countenance, or more truly representing his mind and manners. He hath some knowledge in the law, very amply sufficient to defend his property at least: a facility of utterance, descended to him from his father, and improved by a few sprinklings of literature, hath brought himself, and some few admirers, into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother *Guernsey*, but chiefly in those talents which he most values and pretends to; over whom, nevertheless, he preserveth an ascendant. His great ambition was to be the head of those who were called the church-party; and, indeed, his grave solemn deportment and countenance, seconded by abundance of professions for their service, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their sense of his judgement and wisdom; and this mistake lasted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cause: but then it plainly appeared, that he had not cre-

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dit to bring over one ſingle proſelyte, to keep himſelf in countenance.

Theſe lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imagination to conceive what ſort of perſons thoſe were, who had the boldneſs to encounter the queen and miniſtry, at the head of a great majority of the landed intereſt; and this upon a point, where the quiet of her majeſty's reign, the ſecurity, or at leaſt the freedom, of her perſon, the lives of her moſt faithful friends, and the ſettling of the nation by a peace, were, in the conſequences, deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addreſſes had been procured from both houſes to the queen, repreſenting their opinion, that no peace could be ſecure for *Britain*, while *Spain* or the *Weſt-Indies* remained in the poſſeſſion of the *Bourbon* family: but her majeſty having, for reaſons which have been often told to the world, and which will not ſoon be forgotten, called a new parliament, and choſe a new ſett of ſervants, began to view things and perſons in another light. She conſidered the neceſſities of her people, the diſtant proſpect of a peace upon ſuch an improbable condition, which was never mentioned or underſtood in the grand alliance; the unequal burthen ſhe bore in the war, by the practices of the allies upon the corruption of ſome whom ſhe moſt truſted, or perhaps by the practices of theſe upon the allies; and, laſtly, by the changes which death had brought about in the *Auſtrian* and *Bourbon* families. Upon all which

motives, she was prevailed upon to receive some overtures from *France*, in behalf of herself and the whole confederacy. The several steps of this negociation, from its first rise to the time I am now writing, shall be related in another part of this History. Let it suffice for the present to say, that such propofals were received from *France* as were thought sufficient by our court whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and soon after the opening of the session, the bishop of [*i*] *Bristol*, lord privy-seal, was dispatched to *Utrecht*, where he and the earl of *Strafford* were appointed plenipotentiaries for the queen of *Great Britain*.

The managers of the discontented party, who, during the whole summer, had observed the motions of the court running fast towards a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppose her majesty's designs, when the parliament should meet. Their only strength was in the house of lords, where the queen had a very crazy majority, made up by those whose hearts were in the other interest; but whose fears, expectations, or immediate dependance, had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were two lords, upon whose abilities and influence, of a very different nature, the managers built their strongest hopes. The first was the duke of *Somerset*, master of the horse. This duke, as well as his duchess, was in a good degree of favour with the queen, upon the score of some civilities and respects her majesty had received from

[*i*] Dr *Robinson*, afterwards bishop of *London*.

them,

them, while ſhe was princeſs. For ſome years after the Revolution, he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late earl of *Rocheſter* who firſt preſented him to king *William*. However, ſince the time he came into employment, which was towards the cloſe of the laſt reign, he hath been a conſtant zealous member of the other party; but never failed in either attendance or reſpect towards the queen's perſon, or, at moſt, only threatened ſometimes, that he would ſerve no longer, while ſuch or ſuch men were employed; which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all againſt duty or good behaviour. He had been much careſſed and flattered by the lords of the Juncto [*k*], who ſometimes went ſo far as to give him hopes of the crown, in reverſion to his family, upon failure of the houſe of *Hanover*. All this worked ſo far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they ſoon grew weary of his indigeſted ſchemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him, with little ceremony, when he happened to be there, which his haughty nature was not able to brook. Thus a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole aſſembly of party-leaders; ſo that, upon the queen's firſt intentions of changing her miniſtry, ſoon after the tryal of Dr. *Sacheverel*,

[*k*] A cant name given to five Lords of that party.

he

he appointed several meetings with Mr. *Harley* alone, in the most private manner, in places and at times least liable to suspicion. He employed all his credit with the queen to drive on the removal of my lord *Godolphin*, and the rest; and, in the council, treated the small remainder, who continued some time longer in their places, with all possible marks of hatred or disdain. But when the question came for dissolving the parliament, he stopt short: he had already satiated his resentments, which were not against things, but persons: he furiously opposed that counsel, and promised to undertake for the parliament himself. When the queen had declared her pleasure for the dissolution, he flew off in greater rage than ever; opposed the court in all elections, where he had influence or power; and made very humble advances to reconcile himself with the discarded lords, especially the earl of *Godolphin*, who is reported to have treated him at *Newmarket* in a most contemptuous manner. But the sincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first session of the new parliament, and the use he might be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his duchess, with the queen, at length begat a reconcilement. He still kept his employment, and place in the cabinet-council; but had never appeared there, from an avowed dislike of all persons and proceedings. It happened, about the end of summer, 1711, at *Windsor*, when the cabinet-council was summoned, this duke, whether by directions from his teachers, or the instability of his nature, took a fancy

fancy to reſume his place, and a chair was brought accordingly; upon which Mr. ſecretary *St. John* refuſed to aſſiſt, and gave his reaſons, that he would never ſit in council with a man who had ſo often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a faction which endeavoured to obſtruct all her majeſty's meaſures. Thus the council was put off to next day, and the duke made no farther attempts to be there. But, upon this incident, he declared open war againſt the miniſtry, and, from that time to the ſeſſion, employed himſelf in ſpiriting up ſeveral depending lords to adhere to their friends, when an occaſion ſhould offer. The arguments he made uſe of, were, that thoſe in power deſigned to make an ignominious and unſecure peace, without conſulting the allies; that this could be no otherwiſe prevented than by an addreſs from the Lords, to ſignify their opinion, that no peace could be honourable or ſecure, while *Spain* or the *Weſt-Indies* remained in any of the *Bourbon* family: upon which ſeveral farther reſolutions and inquiries would naturally follow; that the differences between the two houſes, upon this point, muſt either be made up by the commons agreeing with the lords, or muſt end in a diſſolution, which would be followed by a return of the old miniſtry, who, by the force of money and management, could eaſily get another parliament to their wiſhes. He farther aſſured them boldly, that the queen herſelf was at the bottom of this deſign, and had empowered him to deſire their votes againſt the peace, as a point that would

would be for her ſervice; and therefore, they need not be in pain upon account of their penſions, or any farther marks of favour they expected. Thus, by reviving the old art of uſing her majeſty's authority againſt her perſon, he prevailed over ſome, who were not otherwiſe in a ſtation of life to oppoſe the crown; and his proſelytes may pretend to ſome ſhare of pity, ſince he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favour, after all he had done deſerved the loſs of both.

The other lord, in whom the diſcontented managers placed much of their hopes, was the earl of *Nottingham*, already mentioned; than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleaſed at their fall, partly from his avowed principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had of ſharing in their ſpoils. But it fell out, that he was no way acceptable to the queen or her new ſervants: theſe apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the public buſineſs, from his reſtleſs, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was ſuffered to have any part in affairs; and he ſtood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the houſe of lords, and in her majeſty's preſence, that the electorial prince of *Hanover* might be invited to reſide in *England*, although he had before declared to the queen how much he was againſt that propoſal, when it was firſt offered by the other party. However, ſome very conſiderable employments had been given to his neareſt relations;

ons; and he had one or two offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the earl of *Rochester's* decease, he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for president of the council, and deeply resented that disappointment. But the duke of *Newcastle*, Lord privy-seal, dying some time after, he found that office was first designed for the earl of *Jersey*, and, upon this lord's sudden death, was actually disposed of to the bishop of *Bristol:* by which he plainly saw, that the queen was determined against giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or displaying his eloquence in the cabinet-council. He had now shaken off all remains of patience or temper; and, from the contemplation of his own disappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the public management, and to assure his neighbours in the country, that the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined. The discontented lords were soon apprised of this great change; and the duke of *Roxborough*, the earl's son-in-law, was dispatched to *Burleigh on the Hill*, to cultivate his present dispositions, and offer him whatever terms he pleased to insist on. The earl immediately agreed to fall in with any measures for distressing or destroying the ministry: but, in order to preserve his reputation with the church-party, and perhaps bring them over to his interests, he proposed, that a bill should be brought into the house of lords for preventing occasional conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all the peers of the low-church

church principle, which would convince the world of their good intentions to the eſtabliſhed religion; and that their oppoſitions to the court wholly proceeded from their care of the nation, and concern for its honour and ſafety.

Theſe preparations were public enough, and the miniſters had ſufficient time to arm themſelves; but they ſeem to have acted, in this juncture, like men who truſted to the goodneſs of their cauſe, and the general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to thoſe arts which our corruptions have too often made neceſſary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there would be a majority of ten upon the ſide of the court. I remember to have told my lord *Harcourt*, and Mr. *Prior*, that a majority of ten was only a majority of five, becauſe if their adverſaries could bring off five, the number would be equal: and ſo it happened to prove; for the miſtake lay in counting upon the bare promiſes of thoſe who were wholly in the intereſt of the old miniſtry, and were only kept in awe by the fear of offending the crown, and loſing their ſubſiſtence, wherein the duke of *Somerſet* had given them full ſatisfaction.

With theſe diſpoſitions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the 7th of *December*, 1711. The queen's ſpeech (excepting what related to ſupplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both houſes what progreſs ſhe had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing

bringing it to a ſpeedy concluſion. As ſoon as her majeſty was withdrawn, the houſe of lords, in a committee, reſolved upon an addreſs of thanks; to which the earl of *Nottingham* propoſed an addition of the following clauſe:

"And we do beg leave to repreſent it to your "majeſty, as the humble opinion and advice of "this houſe, that no peace can be ſafe or honour-"ble to *Great Britain* and *Europe*, if *Spain* and "the *Weſt-Indies* are to be allotted to any branch "of the houſe of *Bourbon*."

He was ſeconded by the earl of *Scarborough*; and, after a debate of ſeveral hours, the queſtion for the clauſe was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day, the houſe agreed with the committee. The depending lords (having taken freſh courage from their principals, and ſome who profeſſed themſelves very humble ſervants to the preſent miniſtry, and enemies to the former) went along with the ſtream, pretending not to ſee the conſequences that muſt viſibly follow. The addreſs was preſented on the eleventh, to which her majeſty's anſwer was ſhort and dry. She diſtinguiſhed their thanks from the reſt of the piece; and, in return to lord *Nottingham's* clauſe, ſaid, ſhe ſhould be ſorry that any body could think ſhe would not do her utmoſt to recover *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* from the houſe of *Bourbon*.

Upon the 15th of *December*, the earl of *Nottingham* likewiſe brought in the bill to prevent occaſional conformity (although under a diſguiſed title);

which met with no oppoſition; but was ſwallowed by thoſe very lords, who always appeared with the utmoſt violence againſt the leaſt advantage to the eſtabliſhed church.

But in the houſe of commons there appeared a very different ſpirit; for when one Mr. *Robert Walpole* offered a clauſe of the ſame nature with that of the earl of *Nottingham*, it was rejected with contempt by a very great majority. Their addreſs was in the moſt dutiful manner, approving of what her majeſty had done towards a peace, and truſting intirely to her wiſdom in the future management of it. This addreſs was preſented to the queen a day before that of the lords, and received an anſwer diſtinguiſhedly gracious. But the other party was no ways diſcouraged by either anſwer, which they looked upon as only matter of courſe, and the ſenſe of the miniſtry, contrary to that of the queen.

The parliament ſat as long as the approaching feſtival would allow; and upon the 22d, the land-tax and occaſional bills having received the royal aſſent, the houſe of commons adjourned to the 14th of *January* following: but the adjournment of the lords was only to the 2d, the prevailing party there being in haſte to purſue the conſequences of the earl of *Nottingham's* clauſe, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the treaſurer, and overthrow the miniſtry; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be diſturbed by the commons.

When

When this addreſs againſt any peace without *Spain*, &c. was carried in the houſe of lords, it is not eaſy to deſcribe the effects it had upon moſt mens paſſions. The partiſans of the old miniſtry triumphed loudly, and without any reſerve, as if the game were their own. The earl of *Wharton* was obſerved in the houſe to ſmile, and put his hands to his neck when any of the miniſtry was ſpeaking, by which he would have it underſtood that ſome heads were in danger. *Parker*, the chief-juſtice, began already with great zeal and officiouſneſs to proſecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the adminiſtration: in ſhort, joy and vengeance ſat viſible in every countenance of that party.

On the other ſide, all well-wiſhers to the queen, the church, or the peace, were equally dejected; and the treaſurer ſtood the foremoſt mark both of his enemies fury, and the cenſure of his friends: among the latter, ſome imputed this fatal miſcarriage to his procraſtinating nature; others, to his unmeaſurable public thrift: both parties agreed, that a firſt miniſter, with very moderate ſkill in affairs, might eaſily have governed the event: and ſome began to doubt, whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired in other ſtations, were what he juſtly deſerved: all this he knew well enough, and heard it with great phlegm; neither did it make any alteration in his countenance or humour. He told Monſieur *Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, two days before the parliament ſat, that he was ſorry for

what was like to pafs, becaufe the States would be the firft fufferers, which he defired the envoy to remember: and to his neareft friends, who appeared in pain about the publick or themfelves, he only faid that all would be well, and defired them not to be frighted.

It was, I conceive, upon thefe motives, that the treafurer advifed her majefty to create twelve new lords, and thereby difable the fting of faction for the reft of her life-time: this promotion was fo ordered, that a third part were of thofe on whom, or their pofterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the reft were fuch, whofe merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception.

The adverfe party, being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did; that it was a pernicious example fet for ill princes to follow, who, by the fame rule, might make at any time an hundred as well as twelve, and by thefe means become maflers of the houfe of lords whenever they pleafed, which would be dangerous to our liberties. To this it was anfwered, that ill princes feldom trouble themfelves to look for precedents; that men of great eftates will not be lefs fond of preferving their liberties when they are created peers; that in fuch a government as this, where the prince holds the balance between two great powers, the nobility and people, it is the very nature of his office to remove from one fcale into the other, or fometimes

put

put his own weight in the lighteſt, ſo as to bring both to an equilibrium; and laſtly, that the other party had been above twenty years corrupting the nobility with republican principles, which nothing but the royal prerogative could hinder from overſpreading us.

The conformity-bill above-mentioned was prepared by the earl of *Nottingham* before the parliament met, and brought in at the ſame time with the clauſe againſt peace, according to the bargain made between him and his new friends: this, he hoped, would not only ſave his credit with the church-party, but bring them over to his politicks, ſince they muſt needs be convinced, that, inſtead of changing his own principles, he had prevailed on the greateſt enemies to the eſtabliſhed religion to be the firſt movers in a law for the perpetual ſettlement of it. Here it was worth obſerving, with what reſignation the Juncto Lords (as they were then called) were ſubmitted to by their adherents and followers; for it is well known, that the chief among the diſſenting teachers in town were conſulted upon this affair, and ſuch arguments uſed, as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater advantage to their cauſe then the paſſing this bill. I did, indeed, ſee a letter at that time from one of them to a great [*l*] man, complaining that they were betrayed and undone by their pretended friends; but they were in general

[*l*] It was to the Treaſurer himſelf.

very well ſatisfied upon promiſes that this law ſhould ſoon be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted, as ſoon as their friends ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed.

But nothing ſeemed more extraordinary than the event of this refined management, by which the earl of *Nottingham* was ſo far from bringing over proſelytes (wherein his abilities fell very ſhort even of the Duke of *Somerſet's*) or preſerving the reputation of a firm churchman, that very few people did ſo much as imagine he had any ſuch deſign; only when he brought in the bill, they conceived it was ſome wonderful deep reach of politicks, which they could not comprehend; however, they liked the thing, and without troubling themſelves about the perſons or motives from whence it roſe, it had a very ſpeedy paſſage through both houſes. It muſt be confeſſed, that ſome attempt of this nature was much more neceſſary to the leaders of that party, than is generally thought. The deſire of power and revenge was common to them all; but ſeveral among them were alſo conſcious that they ſtood in need of protection, whoſe ſafety was therefore concerned in the deſign of ruining the miniſtry, as well as their ambition. The duke of *Marlborough* foreſaw thoſe examinations, which were afterwards made into ſome parts of his management, and was apprehenſive of a great deal more; that the parliament would perhaps enquire into the particulars of the negociation at the *Hague* in 1709; for what ends, and by whoſe advice, the propoſitions of peace from *France* were rejected:

rejected: beſides, he dreaded leſt that myſterious policy might be laid open to the world, of deſiring the queen to conſtitute him General for life, which was a very tender point, and would admit of much proof. It is true, indeed, that whilſt the duke affair was under the conſideration of the houſe o. commons, one of his creatures [*m*] (whether by direction or otherwiſe) aſſured the ſpeaker, with a very ſerious countenance, that the world was miſtaken in cenſuring his lord upon this article; for it was the queen who preſſed the duke to accept that commiſſion; and upon his humble refuſal conceived her firſt diſpleaſure againſt him. How ſuch a defence would have paſſed, if it had been offered in form, is eaſier to be conceived, than how any perſon in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it; which laſt would indeed be hard to believe, if there were any room left for doubt.

The earl of *Godolphin* wanted protection, notwithſtanding the act of general pardon, which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own ſecurity. He knew that his long neglect of compelling the accomptants to paſs their accompts, might be puniſhed as a breach of truſt. He had run the kingdom into immenſe debts, by taking up ſtores for the navy upon a vaſt diſcount, without parliamentary ſecurity; for which he could be able to plead neither law nor neceſſity: and he had given way, at leaſt, to ſome proceed-

[*m*] *Craggs*, father to the Secretary.

ings, not very juſtifiable, in relation to remittances of money, whereby the publick had ſuffered conſiderable loſſes. The Barrier-treaty ſat heavy upon the lord *Townſend's* ſpirits, becauſe, if it ſhould be laid before the houſe of commons, whoever negotiated that affair might be ſubject to the moſt ſevere animadverſions: and the earl of *Wharton's* adminiſtration in *Ireland* was looked upon as a ſufficient ground to impeach him, at leaſt, for high crimes and miſdemeanors.

The managers in *Holland* were ſufficiently apprized of all this; and Monſieur *Buys*, their miniſter here, took care to cultivate that good correſpondence between his maſters and their *Engliſh* friends, which became two confederates purſuing the ſame end.

This man had been formerly employed in *England* from that republick, and underſtood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been ſuch, as to furniſh now and then a *Latin* quotation, of which he is as liberal as his ſtock will admit. His knowledge in government reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of ſtate for the reſt of the world. His reaſonings upon politicks are with great profuſion at all meetings; and he leaves the company with entire ſatisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior ſort of cunning, which is the growth of his country, of a ſtandard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition

dition of life among them, from the Boor to the Burgomaſter. He came into *England* with inſtructions authoriſing him to accommodate all differences between her majeſty and the States; but having firſt adviſed with the confederate lords, he aſſured the miniſtry he had powers to hear their propoſals, but none to conclude: and having repreſented to his maſters what had been told him by the adverſe party, he prevailed with them to revoke his powers. He found the intereſt of thoſe who withſtood the court, would exactly fall in with the deſigns of the States, which were to carry on the war as they could, at our expence, and to ſee themſelves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were diſpoſed to apply to *France*, or to receive overtures from thence.

The Emperor, upon many powerful reaſons, was utterly averſe from all councils which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of *Spain*; nay, the elector of *Hanover* himſelf, although preſumptive heir to the crown of *England*, and obliged by all ſorts of ties to cultivate her majeſty's friendſhip, was ſo far deceived by miſrepreſentations from hence, that he ſeemed to ſuffer Monſieur *Bothmar*, his envoy here, to print and publiſh a memorial in *Engliſh*, directly diſapproving all her majeſty's proceedings; which memorial, as appeareth by the ſtyle and manner of it, was all drawn up, or at leaſt digeſted, by ſome party-pen on this ſide of the water.

Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger, and to preſerve the reſpect even due to foreign

reign princes, do usually charge the wrong steps in a court altogether upon the persons employed; but I should have taken a securer method, and have been wholly silent in this point, if I had not then conceived some hope, that his electoral highness might possibly have been a stranger to the memorial of his resident: for, first, the manner of delivering it to the secretary of state was out of all form, and almost as extraordinary as the thing itself. Monsieur *Bothmar*, having obtained an hour of Mr. secretary *St. John*, talked much to him upon the subject of which that memorial consists; and upon going away, desired he might leave a paper with the secretary, which he said contained the substance of what he had been discoursing. This paper Mr. *St. John* laid aside, among others of little consequence; and a few days after saw a memorial in print, which he found upon comparing to be the same with what *Bothmar* had left.

During this short recess of parliament, and upon the 5th day of *January*, prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* landed in *England*. Before he left his ship, he asked a person who came to meet him, whether the new lords were made, and what was their number? He was attended through the streets with a mighty rabble of people to *St. James's*, where Mr. secretary *St. John* introduced him to the queen, who received him with great civility. His arrival had been long expected, and the project of his journey had as long been formed here by the party-leaders, in concert with monsieur *Buys* and monsieur *Bothmar*, the *Dutch* and

and *Hanover* envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the emperor, with offers to continue the war upon a new foot, very advantageous to *Britain*; part of which, by her majesty's commands, Mr. *St. John* soon after produced to the house of commons, were they were rejected, not without some indignation, by a great majority. The emperor's proposals, as far as they related to *Spain*, were communicated to the house in the words following:

"His imperial majesty judges that forty thousand "men will be sufficient for this service; and that "the whole expence of the war in *Spain* may "amount to four millions of crowns, towards which "his imperial majesty offers to make up the troops, "which he has in that country, to thirty thousand "men, and to take one million of crowns upon "himself."

On the other side, the house of commons voted a third part of those four millions as a sufficient quota for her majesty toward that service; for it was supposed the emperor ought to bear the greatest proportion in a point that so nearly concerned him; or at least, that *Britain* contributing one third, the other two might be paid by his imperial majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

The design of prince *Eugene's* journey, was to raise a spirit in the parliament and people for continuing the war; for nothing was thought impossible to a prince of such high reputation in arms, in great favour with the emperor, and impowered to make such

ſuch propoſals from his maſter, as the miniſtry durſt not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from count *Gallas* (formerly the emperor's envoy here), that the prince was wholly left to his liberty of making what offers he pleaſed in the emperor's name; for if the parliament could once be brought to raiſe funds, and the war go on, the miniſtry here muſt be under a neceſſity of applying and expending thoſe funds; and the emperor could afterwards find twenty reaſons and excuſes, as he had hitherto done, for not furniſhing his quota: therefore prince *Eugene*, for ſome time, kept himſelf within generals, until, being preſſed to explain himſelf upon that particular of the war in *Spain*, which the houſe of *Auſtria* pretended to have moſt at heart, he made the offer above-mentioned, as a moſt extraordinary effort; and ſo it was, conſidering how little they had ever done before, towards recovering that monarchy to themſelves: but, ſhameful as theſe propoſals were, few believed the emperor would obſerve them, or, indeed, that he ever intended to ſpare ſo many men as would make up an army of thirty thouſand men, to be employed in *Spain*.

Prince *Eugene's* viſit to his friends in *England* continued longer than was expected; he was every day entertained magnificently by perſons of quality of both parties; he went frequently to the treaſurer, and ſometimes affected to do it in private; he viſited the other miniſters and great officers of the court, but on all occaſions publicly owned the character and appellation of a Whig; and, in ſecret,

held

held continual meetings with the duke of *Marlborough*, and the other diſcontented lords, where M. *Bothmar* uſually aſſiſted. It is the great ambition of this prince to be perpetually engaged in war, without conſidering the cauſe or conſequence; and to ſee himſelf at the head of an army, where only he can make any conſiderable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty, ſome time charged upon the *Italians*; and being nurſed in arms, has ſo far extinguiſhed pity and remorſe, that he will at any time ſacrifice a thouſand mens lives, to a caprice of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the treaſurer, as the perſon who principally oppoſed this inſatiable paſſion for war; ſaid he had hopes of others, but that the treaſurer was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved; therefore, ſince it was impoſſible for him or his friends to compaſs their deſigns, while that miniſter continued at the head of affairs, he propoſed an expedient, often practiſed by thoſe of his country, that the treaſurer (to uſe his own expreſſion) ſhould be taken off, *à la negligence*; that this might eaſily be done, and paſs for an effect of chance, if it were preceded by encouraging ſome proper people to commit ſmall riots in the night: and in ſeveral parts of the town, a crew of obſcure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commiſſion; and mixing themſelves with thoſe diſorderly people that often infeſt the ſtreets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many perſons, whom they cut and mangled

gled in the face and arms, and other parts of the body, without any provocation; but an effectual ſtop was ſoon put to thoſe enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main deſign.

I am very ſenſible, that ſuch an imputation ought not to be charged upon any perſon whatſoever, upon ſlight grounds or doubtful ſurmiſes; and that thoſe who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this paſſage to be fitter for a libel than a hiſtory; but as the account was given by more than one perſon who was at the meeting, ſo it was confirmed paſt all contradiction by ſeveral intercepted letters and papers: and it is moſt certain, that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent diſappointments, was ſo far inflamed, as to make them capable of ſome counſels yet more violent and deſperate than this, which, however, by the vigilance of thoſe near the perſon of her majeſty, were happily prevented.

On the 30th day of *December*, 1711, the duke of *Marlborough* was removed from all his employments: the duke of *Ormond* ſucceeding him as general, both here and in *Flanders*. This proceeding of the court (as far as it related to the duke of *Marlborough*) was much cenſured both at home and abroad, and by ſome who did not wiſh ill to the preſent ſituation of affairs. There were few examples of a commander being diſgraced, after an uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs for many years againſt a formidable enemy, and this before a period

was

was put to the war: thoſe who had leaſt eſteem for his valour and conduct, thought it not prudent to remove a general, whoſe troops were perpetually victorious, while he was at their head; becauſe this had infuſed into his ſoldiers an opinion that they ſhould always conquer, and into the enemy that they ſhould always be beaten; than which nothing is held to be of greater moment, either in the progreſs of a war or upon the day of battle; and I have good grounds to affirm, that theſe reaſons had ſufficient weight with the queen and miniſtry to have kept the duke of *Marlborough* in his poſt, if a way could have been found out to have done it with any aſſurance of ſafety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their diſpleaſure make uſually much more noiſe than the cauſes: thus, the ſound of the duke's fall was heard farther than many of the reaſons which made it neceſſary; whereof though ſome were viſible enough, yet others lay more in the dark. Upon the duke's laſt return from *Flanders*, he had fixed his arrival to town (whether by accident or otherwiſe) upon the 17th of *November*, called queen *Elizabeth's* day, when great numbers of his creatures and admirers had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the pope in effigy; for the performance of which with more ſolemnity, they had made extraordinary preparations. From the ſeveral circumſtances of the expence of this intended pageantry, and of the perſons who promoted it, the court,

apprehenſive of a deſign to inflame the common people, thought fit to order, that the ſeveral figures ſhould be ſeized as popiſh trinkets, and guards were ordered to patrole, for preventing any tumultuous aſſemblies. Whether this frolick were only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I muſt leave undetermined. The duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular; and in his flouriſhing times, whenever he came back to *England* upon the cloſe of a campaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourſe of the mobile, if they had been diſpoſed to attend him; therefore ſo very contrary a proceeding at this juncture, made it ſuſpected as if he had a deſign to have placed himſelf at their head. *France*, popery, the pretender, peace without *Spain*, were the words to be given about at this mock-parade; and if what was confidently aſſerted be true, that a report was to have been ſpread at the ſame time of the queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purpoſes intended, proving wholly abortive by the vigilance of thoſe in power, the duke's arrival was without any noiſe or conſequence; and upon conſulting with his friends, he ſoon fell in with their new ſcheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many perſons, that the miniſters might, with little difficulty, have brought him over, if they had pleaſed to make a trial; for as he would probably have accepted any

terms

terms to continue in a ſtation of ſuch prodigious profit, ſo there was ſufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is ſeldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity), and his infirmity very much increaſed by his unmeaſurable poſſeſſions, which have rendered him, *ipſique onerique timentem*; but reaſon, as well as the event, proved this to be a miſtake: for the miniſters, being determined to bring the war to as ſpeedy an iſſue as the honour and ſafety of their country would permit, could not poſſibly recompenſe the duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then the other party had calculated their numbers; and by the acceſſion of the earl of *Nottingham*, whoſe example they hoped would have many followers, and the ſucceſsful ſolicitations of the duke of *Somerſet*, found they were ſure of a majority in the houſe of lords: ſo that, in this view of circumſtances, the duke of *Marlborough* thought he acted with ſecurity, as well as advantage: he therefore boldly fell, with his whole weight, into the deſign of ruining the miniſtry at the expence of his duty to his ſovereign, and the welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both. Whig and Tory were now no longer the diſpute, but the queen or the duke of *Marlborough*: he was at the head of all the cabals and conſults with *Bothmar*, *Buys*, and the diſcontented lords. He forgot that government of his paſſion, for which his admirers

mirers uſed to celebrate him, fell into all the impotences of anger and violence upon every party-debate: ſo that the queen found herſelf under a neceſſity, either, on the one ſide, to ſacrifice thoſe friends, who had ventured their lives in reſcuing her out of the power of ſome, whoſe former treatment ſhe had little reaſon to be fond of, to put an end to the progreſs ſhe had made towards a peace, and diſſolve her parliament; or, on the other ſide, by removing one perſon from ſo great a truſt, to get clear of all her difficulties at once: her majeſty therefore determined upon the latter, as the ſhorter and ſafer courſe; and, during the receſs at *Chriſtmas*, ſent the duke a letter, to tell him ſhe had no farther occaſion for his ſervice.

There hath not perhaps in the preſent age been a clearer inſtance to ſhew the inſtability of greatneſs which is not founded upon virtue; and it may be an inſtruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular perſon, although ſupported by exorbitant wealth, can by a little reſolution be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous conſequences. This lord, who was, beyond all compariſon, the greateſt ſubject in Chriſtendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble away on a ſudden; and, except a few friends or followers by inclination, the reſt dropt off in courſe. From directing in ſome manner the affairs of *Europe*, he deſcended to be a member of a faction, and with

with little diſtinction even there: that virtue of ſubduing his reſentments, for which he was ſo famed when he had little or no occaſion to exert it, having now wholly forſaken him when he ſtood moſt in need of its aſſiſtance; and, upon trial, was found unable to bear a reverſe of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and diſcontent.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK II.

THE houſe of lords met upon the 2d day of *January*, according to their adjournment; but, before they could proceed to buſineſs, the twelve new-created peers were, in the uſual form, admitted to their ſeats in that aſſembly, who, by their numbers, turned the balance on the ſide of the court, and voted an adjournment to the ſame day with the commons. Upon the 14th of *January*, the two houſes met; but the queen, who intended to be there in perſon, ſent a meſſage to inform them, that ſhe was prevented by a ſudden return of the gout, and to deſire they would adjourn for three days longer, when her majeſty hoped ſhe ſhould be able to ſpeak to them. However, her indiſpoſition ſtill continuing, Mr. ſecretary *St. John* brought another meſſage to the houſe of commons

from the queen, containing the ſubſtance of what ſhe intended to have ſpoken; that ſhe could now tell them, her plenipotentiaries were arrived at *Utrecht*; had begun, in purſuance of her inſtructions, to concert the moſt proper ways of procuring a juſt ſatisfaction to all powers in alliance with her, according to their ſeveral treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; that ſhe promiſed to communicate to them the conditions of peace, before the ſame ſhould be concluded; that the world would now ſee how groundleſs thoſe reports were, and without the leaſt colour, that a ſeparate peace had been treated; that her miniſters were directed to propoſe, that a day might be fixed for the finiſhing, as was done for the commencement, of this treaty; and that, in the mean time, all preparations were haſtening for an early campaign, *&c.*

Her majeſty's endeavours towards this great work having been in ſuch a forwardneſs at the time that her meſſage was ſent, I ſhall here, as in the moſt proper place, relate the ſeveral ſteps by which the intercourſe between the courts of *France* and *Britain* was begun and carried on.

The marquis *De Torcy*, ſent by the moſt chriſtian king to the *Hague*, had there, in the year 1709, made very advantageous offers to the allies in his maſter's name; which our miniſters, as well as thoſe of the ſtates, thought fit to refuſe, and advanced other propoſals in their ſtead, but of ſuch a nature as no prince could digeſt, who did not lie at the

the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was demanded, among other things, that the *French* king ſhould employ his own troops, in conjunction with thoſe of the allies, to drive his grandſon out of *Spain*. The propoſers knew very well, that the enemy would never conſent to this; and if it were poſſible they could at firſt have any ſuch hopes, Monſ. *de Torcy* aſſured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed; for then the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands. They deſired that miniſter to aſſiſt them in the ſtyle and expreſſion, which he very readily did, and made uſe of the ſtrongeſt words he could find to pleaſe them. He then inſiſted to know their laſt reſolution, whether theſe were the loweſt terms the allies would accept; and having received a determinate anſwer in the affirmative, he ſpoke to this effect.

" That he thanked them heartily for giving him " the happieſt day he had ever ſeen in his life: that, " in perfect obedience to his maſter, he had made " conceſſions in his own opinion, highly derogatory to the king's honour and intereſt: that he " had not concealed the difficulties of his court, " or the diſcontents of his country, by a long and " unſucceſsful war, which could only juſtify the " large offers he had been impowered to make: that " the conditions of peace, now delivered into his " hands by the allies, would raiſe a new ſpirit in " the nation, and remove the greateſt difficulty " the court lay under, putting it in his maſter's

" power to convince all his subjects how earnestly " his majesty desired to ease them from the burthen " of the war; but that his enemies would not ac- " cept of any terms, which could consist either " with their safety or his honour." Mons. *de Torcy* assured the pensioner, in the strongest manner, and bid him count upon it, that the king his master would never sign those articles.

It soon appeared, that the marquis *de Torcy's* predictions were true; for, upon delivering to his master the last resolutions of the allies, that prince took care to publish them all over his kingdom, as an appeal to his subjects against the unreasonableness and injustice of his enemies: which proceeding effectually answered the utmost he intended by it; for the *French* nation, extremely jealous of their monarch's glory, made universal offers of their lives and fortunes, rather than submit to such ignominious terms; and the clergy, in particular, promised to give the king their consecrated plate, towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom, generally thought to be wholly exhausted of its wealth, yet when driven to a necessity by the imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men, who influenced their councils, recovered strength enough to support itself for three following campaigns: and in the last, by the fatal blindness or obstinacy of the *Dutch* (venturing to act without the assistance of *Britain*, which they had shamefully abandoned), was an overmatch for the whole confederate army.

Those

Thoſe who, in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negociation, do wholly omit the circumſtance I have now related, and expreſs the zeal of the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* miniſters for a peace, by informing us how frequently they ſent after Monſ. *de Torcy*, and Monſ. *Rouille*, for a farther conference. But in the mean time Mr. *Horatio Walpole*, ſecretary to the queen's plenipotentiaries, was diſpatched over hither, to have thoſe abortive articles ſigned and ratified by her majeſty at a venture, which was accordingly done. A piece of management altogether abſurd, and without example; contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to ſhew what great things the miniſtry deſigned to do.

But this hope expiring, upon the news that *France* had refuſed to ſign thoſe articles, all was ſolved by recourſe to the old topick of the *French* perfidiouſneſs. We loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations; they were a nation never to be truſted. The parliament chearfully continued their ſupplies, and the war went on. The winter following began the ſecond and laſt ſeſſion of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, and the occaſions thereby given to the people to diſcover and exert their diſpoſitions, very oppoſite to the deſigns of thoſe who were then in power. In the ſummer of 1710, enſued a gradual change of the miniſtry; and in the

beginning of that winter the preſent parliament was called.

The king of *France*, whoſe real intereſts made him ſincerely deſirous of any tolerable peace, found it impoſſible to treat upon equal conditions with either of the two maritime powers engaged againſt him, becauſe of the prevalency of factions in both, who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly againſt the general diſpoſitions of the people in either, as well as againſt their ſeveral maxims of government. But, upon the great turn of affairs and councils here in *England*, the new parliament and miniſters acting from other motives, and upon other principles, that prince hoped an opportunity might ariſe of reſuming his endeavours towards a peace.

There was at this time in *England* a *French* eccleſiaſtick, called the abbé *Gualtier*, who had reſided ſeveral years in *London*, under the protection of ſome foreign miniſters, in whoſe families he uſed upon occaſion, to exerciſe his function of a prieſt. After the battle of *Blenheim*, this gentleman went down to *Nottingham*, where ſeveral *French* priſoners of quality were kept, to whom he rendered thoſe offices of civility ſuitable to perſons in their condition, which, upon their return to *France*, they reported to his advantage. Among the reſt, the chevalier *de Croiſſy* told his brother, the marquis *de Torcy*, that whenever the *French* court would have a mind to make overtures of peace with *England*, Monſ. *Gualtier* might be very uſefully em-

employed in handing them to the miniſters here. This was no further thought on at preſent. In the mean time the war went on, and the conferences at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg* miſcarried, by the allies inſiſting upon ſuch demands as they neither expected nor perhaps deſired ſhould be granted.

Some time in *July*, 1710, Monſ. *Gualtier* received a letter from the marquis *de Torcy*, ſignifying, that a report being ſpread of her majeſty's intentions to change her miniſtry, to take Mr. *Harley* into her councils, and to diſſolve her parliament, the moſt chriſtian king thought it might be now a favourable conjuncture to offer new propoſals of a treaty: Monſ. *Gualtier* was therefore directed to apply himſelf in the marquis's name, either to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, the earl of *Jerſey*, or Mr. *Harley*, and inform the *French* court how ſuch a propoſition would be reliſhed. *Gualtier* choſe to deliver his meſſage to the ſecond of thoſe, who had been ambaſſador from the late king to *France*; but the earl excuſed himſelf from entering into particulars with a ſtranger, and a private perſon, who had no authority for what he ſaid, more than a letter from Monſ. *de Torcy*. *Gualtier* offered to procure another from that miniſter to the earl himſelf; and did ſo, in a month after: but obtained no anſwer till *December* following, when the queen had made all neceſſary changes, and ſummoned a free parliament to her wiſhes. About the beginning of *January*, the abbé (after having procured his diſ-

diſmiſſion from count *Gallas*, the emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was ſent to *Paris*, to inform Monſ. *Torcy*, that her Majeſty would be willing his maſter ſhould reſume the treaty with *Holland*, provided the demands of *England* might be previouſly granted. *Gualtier* came back, after a ſhort ſtay, with a return to his meſſage, that the *Dutch* had uſed the moſt chriſtian king and his miniſters in ſuch a manner, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, as made that prince reſolve not to expoſe himſelf any more to the like treatment; that he therefore choſe to addreſs himſelf to *England*, and was ready to make whatever offers her majeſty could reaſonably expect, for the advantage of her own kingdoms, and the ſatisfaction of her allies.

After this meſſage had been duly conſidered by the queen and her miniſters, Monſ. *Gualtier* was diſpatched a ſecond time to *France*, about the beginning of *March*, 1710-11, with an anſwer to the following purpoſe: "That, ſince *France* had their particular reaſons for not beginning again to treat with *Holland*, *England* was willing to remove that difficulty, and propoſed it ſhould be done in this manner: That *France* ſhould ſend over hither the propoſitions for a treaty, which ſhould be tranſmitted by *England* to *Holland*, to be jointly treated on that ſide of the water; but it was to be underſtood, that the ſame propoſition formerly offered to *Holland*, was to be made to *England*, or one not leſs advantageous to the allies; for although *England* would enter moſt ſincerely into ſuch a treaty, and

ſhew,

ſhew, in the courſe of it, the clearneſs of their intentions; yet they could not, with honour, entertain a leſs beneficial propoſal than what was offered to the States."

That prince, as well as his miniſter, Monſ. *de Torcy*, either felt, or affected, ſo much reſentment of the uſage the latter had met at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, that they appeared fully determined againſt making any application to the States, where the ſame perſons continued ſtill in power, of whoſe treatment they ſo heavily complained. They ſeemed altogether to diſtruſt the inclination of that republick towards a peace; but, at the ſame time, ſhewed a mighty complaiſance to the *Engliſh* nation, and a deſire to have her majeſty at the head of a treaty. This appears by the firſt overture in form ſent from that kingdom, and ſigned by Monſ. *de Torcy*, on the 22d of *April*, N. S. 1711, to the following effect:

"That, as it could not be doubted but the king "was in a condition of continuing the war with "honour, ſo it could not be looked on as a mark "of weakneſs in his majeſty to break the ſilence "he had kept ſince the conferences at *Gertruyden-* "*berg*; and that, before the opening of the cam- "paign, he now gives farther proof of the deſire "he always had to procure the repoſe of *Europe*. "But, after what he hath found, by experience, "of the ſentiments of thoſe perſons who now "govern the republick of *Holland*, and of their "induſtry in rendering all negociations without

"effect,

" effect, his majesty will, for the public good, of-
" fer to the *English* nation those propositions, which
" he thinks fit to make for terminating the war,
" and for settling the tranquillity of *Europe* upon a
" solid foundation. It is with this view that he of-
" fers to enter into a treaty of peace, founded on the
" following conditions.

" First, The *English* nation shall have real secu-
" rities for carrying on their trade in *Spain*, the
" *Indies*, and ports of the *Mediterranean*.

" Secondly, the king will consent to form a suf-
" ficient barrier in the Low Countries for the secu-
" rity of the republick of *Holland*; and this barrier
" shall be such as *England* shall agree upon and ap-
" prove; his majesty promising, at the same time,
" an intire liberty and security to the trade of the
" *Dutch*.

" Thirdly, All reasonable methods shall be
" thought on, with sincerity and truth, for giving
" satisfaction to the allies of *England* and *Holland*.

" Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the king of
" *Spain* are in so good a condition as to furnish new
" expedients for putting an end to the disputes
" about that monarchy, and for settling it to the sa-
" tisfaction of the several parties concerned, all sin-
" cere endeavours shall be used for surmounting the
" difficulties arisen upon this occasion; and the
" trade and interest of all parties engaged in the
" present war shall be secured.

" Fifthly, The conferences, in order to treat
" of a peace upon these conditions, shall be im-
" mediately

" mediately opened; and the plenipotentiaries, " whom the king ſhall name to aſſiſt thereat, ſhall " treat with thoſe of *England* and *Holland*, either " alone or in conjunction with thoſe of their allies, " as *England* ſhall chuſe.

" Sixthly, his majeſty propoſes the towns of *Aix* " *la Chapelle* or *Liege* for the place where the pleni- " potentaries ſhall aſſemble, leaving the choice " likewiſe to *England* of either of the ſaid towns, " wherein to treat of a general peace."

Theſe overtures, although expreſſing much confidence in the miniſtry here, great deference to the queen, and diſpleaſure againſt the *Dutch*, were immediately tranſmitted by her majeſty's command to her ambaſſador in *Holland*, with orders, that they ſhould be communicated to the penſioary. The abbé *Gualtier* was deſired to ſignify this proceeding to the marquis *de Torcy*; at the ſame time to let that miniſter underſtand, that ſome of the above articles ought to be explained. The lord *Raby*, now earl of *Strafford*, was directed to tell the penſionary, that her majeſty being reſolved, in making peace as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the ſtates, would not loſe a moment in tranſmitting to him a paper of this importance: that the queen earneſtly deſired, that the ſecret might be kept among as few as poſſible; and that ſhe hoped the penſionary would adviſe upon this occaſion with no perſon whatſoever, except ſuch as, by the conſtitution of that government, are unavoidably neceſſary: that the terms of the ſeveral propoſitions were indeed too general;

neral; but, however, they contained an offer to treat: and that, although there appeared an air of complaisance to *England* through the whole paper, and the contrary to *Holland*, yet this could have no ill consequences, as long as the queen and the States took care to understand each other, and to act with as little reserve as became two powers so nearly allied in interest; which rule, on the part of *Britain*, should be inviolably observed. It was signified likewise to the pensionary, that the duke of *Marlborough* had no communication of this affair from *England*, and that it was supposed he would have none from the *Hague*.

After these proposals had been considered in *Holland*, the ambassador was directed to send back the opinion of the *Dutch* ministers upon them. The court here was, indeed, apprehensive, that the pensionary would be alarmed at the whole frame of Monsieur *de Torcy's* paper, and particularly at these expressions, that the *English* shall have real securities for their trade, *&c.* and that the barrier for the States-general shall be such as *England* shall agree upon and approve. It was natural to think, that the fear which the *Dutch* would conceive of our obtaining advantageous terms for *Britain*, might put them upon trying under-hand for themselves, and endeavouring to over-reach us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war: the ambassador was therefore cautioned to be very watchful in discovering any workings, which might tend that way.

When

When the lord *Raby* was firſt ſent to the *Hague*, the duke of *Marlborough*, and lord *Townſhend*, had, for very obvious reaſons, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to involve him in as many difficulties as they could; upon which, and other accounts, needleſs to mention, it was thought proper, that his grace, then in *Flanders*, ſhould not be let into the ſecret of this affair.

The propoſal of *Aix* or *Liege* for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their old diſcontent againſt *Holland*, to ſhew they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The penſionary, having conſulted thoſe who had been formerly employed in the negociations of peace, and enjoined them the utmoſt ſecrecy, to avoid the jealouſy of the foreign miniſters there, deſired the ambaſſador to return her majeſty thanks, for the obliging manner of communicating the *French* overtures, for the confidence ſhe placed in the States, and for her promiſe of making no ſtep towards a peace, but in concert with them; aſſuring her of the like on their part: that, although the States endeavoured to hide it from the enemy, they were as weary of the war as we, and very heartily deſirous of a good and laſting peace, as well as ready to join in any method, by which her majeſty ſhould think proper, to obtain it: that the States looked upon theſe propoſitions as very dark and general; and they obſerved how the enemy would create jealouſies between the queen, their re-

publick, and the other allies; but they were satisfied it would have no effect, and relied entirely on the justness and prudence of her majesty, who, they doubted not, would make the *French* explain themselves more particularly in the several points of their proposals, and send a plan of the particular conditions whereupon they would make a peace: after which, the States would be ready, either to join with her majesty, or to make their objections, and were prepared to bring with them all the facility imaginable, towards promoting so good a work.

This is the sum of the verbal answer made by the pensionary, upon communicating to him the *French* proposals; and I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other given to the ambassador some days after, which was more in form, and to the same purpose, but shorter, and in my opinion not so well discovering the true disposition of the *Dutch* ministers.

For after the queen had transmitted the *French* overtures to *Holland*, and the States found her majesty was bent in earnest upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to cast about how to get the negociation into their own hands. They knew that whatever power received the first proposals, would be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves, as they had done in their own case, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, where they carved as they pleased, without any regard to the interests of their neareſt allies. For this reason, while they endeavoured to amuse the *British* court with expostula-

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tions upon the ſeveral preliminaries ſent from *France*, Monſieur *Petecum*, a forward meddling agent of *Holſtein*, who had reſided ſome years in *Holland*, negociated with *Hienſius*, the grand penſionary, as well as with *Vanderduſſen* and *Buys*, about reſtoring the conferences between *France* and that republick, broke off in *Gerturydenberg*. Purſuant to which, about the end of *May*, N. S. 1711, *Petecum* wrote to the marquis *de Torcy*, with the privity of the penſionary, and probably of the other two. The ſubſtance of his letter was to inform the marquis, that things might eaſily be diſpoſed, ſo as to ſettle a correſpondence between that crown and the republick, in order to renew the treaty of peace. That this could be done with the greater ſecrecy, becauſe Monſieur *Hienſius*, by virtue of his oath as penſionary, might keep any affair private as long as he thought neceſſary, and was not obliged to communicate it, until he believed things were ripe; and as long as he concealed it from his maſters, he was not bound to diſcover it, either to the miniſters of the emperor, or thoſe of her *Britiſh* majeſty. That, ſince *England* thought it proper for king *Charles* to continue the whole campaign in *Catalonia* (though he ſhould be choſen emperor) in order to ſupport the war in *Spain*, it was neceſſary for *France* to treat in the moſt ſecret manner with the States, who were not now ſo violently, as formerly, againſt having *Philip* on the *Spaniſh* throne, upon certain conditions for ſecuring their trade, but were jealous of *England's* deſign to fortify ſome

trading towns in *Spain* for themſelves. That *Hienſius* extremely deſired to get out of the war, for ſome reaſons, which he (*Petecum*) was not permitted to tell; and that *Vanderduſſen* and *Buys* were impatient to have the negociations with *France* once more ſet on foot, which if Monſieur *Torcy* thought fit to conſent to, *Petecum* engaged that the States would determine to ſettle the preliminaries, in the midway between *Paris* and the *Hague*, with whatever miniſters the moſt Chriſtian king ſhould pleaſe to employ. But Monſieur *Torcy* refuſed this overture, and in his anſwer to Monſieur *Petecum*, aſſigned for the reaſon the treatment his maſter's former propoſals had met with at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, from the miniſters of *Holland*. *Britain* and *Holland* ſeemed pretty well agreed, that thoſe propoſals were too looſe and imperfect to be a foundation for entering upon a general treaty; and Monſieur *Gualtier* was deſired to ſignify to the *French* court, that it was expected they ſhould explain themſelves more particularly on the ſeveral articles.

But in the mean time the queen was firmly reſolved, that the intereſts of her own kingdoms ſhould not be neglected at this juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the *Dutch* were principal managers of a negociation with *France*. Her majeſty had given frequent and early notice to the States, of the general diſpoſition of her people towards a peace, of her own inability to continue the war upon the old foot, under the diſadvantage of unequal quotas, and the univerſal backwardneſs

of her allies. She had likewiſe informed them of ſeveral advances made to her on the ſide of *France*, which ſhe had refuſed to hearken to, till ſhe had conſulted with thoſe, her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that ſubject: but the *Dutch*, who apprehended nothing more than to ſee *Britain* at the head of a treaty, were backward and ſullen, diſliked all propoſals by the queen's intervention, and ſaid it was a piece of artifice of *France* to divide the allies; beſides, they knew the miniſtry was young, and the oppoſite faction had given them aſſurances, that the people of *England* would never endure a peace without *Spain*, nor the men in power dare to attempt it, after the reſolutions of one houſe of parliament to the contrary. But, in the midſt of this unwillingneſs to receive any overtures from *France* by the queen's hands, the *Dutch* miniſters were actually engaged in a correſpondence with that court, where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reaſon of thoſe factions which themſelves had inflamed, and were ready to commence a negociation upon much eaſier terms than what they ſuppoſed we demanded. For, not to mention the duke of *Lorrain's* interpoſition in behalf of *Holland*, which *France* abſolutely refuſed to accept; the letters ſent from the *Dutch* to that court, were ſhewn ſome months after to a *Britiſh* miniſter there, which gave much weight to Monſieur *de Torcy's* inſinuations; that he knew where to meet with more compliance, if the neceſſity of affairs ſhould force him to it, by our refuſal;

and the violence of the States againſt our entertaining of that correſpondence, was only becauſe they knew theirs would never be accepted, at leaſt till ours were thrown off.

The queen, ſenſible of all this, reſolved to provide for her own kingdoms; and having therefore prepared ſuch demands for her principal allies, as might be a ground for proceeding to a general treaty, without pretending to adjuſt their ſeveral intereſts; ſhe reſolved to ſtipulate in a particular manner the advantage of *Britain:* the following preliminary demands were accordingly drawn up, in order to be tranſmitted to *France.*

" *Great Britain* will not enter into any negoci-
" ation of peace, otherwiſe than upon theſe con-
" ditions, obtained before-hand.

" That the union of the two crowns of *France*
" and *Spain* ſhall be prevented: that ſatisfaction
" ſhall be given to all the allies, and trade ſettled
" and maintained."

" If *France* be diſpoſed to treat upon this view,
" it is not to be doubted, that the following pro-
" poſitions will be found reaſonable.

" A barrier ſhall be formed in the *Low Countries*
" for the States-general; and their trade ſhall be
" ſecured.

" A barrier likewiſe ſhall be formed for the em-
" pire.

" The pretenſions of all the allies, founded upon
" former treaties, ſhall be regulated and determin-
" ed to their general ſatisfaction.

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" In order to make a more equal balance of " power in *Italy*, the dominions and territories, " which in the beginning of the preſent war belong- " ed to the duke of *Savoy*, and are now in the poſ- " ſeſſion of *France*, ſhall be reſtored to his royal high- " neſs, and ſuch other places in *Italy* ſhall be yielded " to him, as will be found neceſſary and agreeable to " the ſenſe of former treaties made with this prince.

" As to *Great Britain* in particular, the ſucceſſi- " on to the crown of the kingdoms, according to " the preſent eſtabliſhment, ſhall be acknow- " ledged.

" A new treaty of commerce between *Great* " *Britain* and *France* ſhall be made, after the moſt " juſt and reaſonable manner.

" *Dunkirk* ſhall be demoliſhed; *Gibraltar* and " *Port-Mahon* ſhall remain in the hands of the pre- " ſent poſſeſſors.

" The *Engliſh* ſhall have the Aſſiento in the " ſame manner the *French* now enjoy it; and ſuch " places in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* ſhall be aſſigned " to thoſe concerned in this traffick, for the refreſh- " ment and ſale of their negroes, as ſhall be found " neceſſary and convenient.

" All advantages, rights, and privileges already " granted, and which may hereafter be granted " by *Spain* to the ſubjects of *France*, or to any other " nation whatſoever, ſhall be equally granted to the " ſubjects of *Great Britain*.

" And for better ſecuring the *Britiſh* trade in the " *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, certain places to be named

" in the treaty of peace, ſhall be put into poſſeſſion " of the *Engliſh*.

" *Newfoundland*, with the *Bay* and *Streights* of " *Hudſon*, ſhall be entirely reſtored to the *Engliſh*; " and *Great Britain* and *France* ſhall ſeverally keep " and poſſeſs all thoſe countries and territories in " *North America*, which each of the ſaid nations " ſhall be in poſſeſſion of at the time when the rati- " fication of this treaty ſhall be publiſhed in thoſe " parts of the world.

" Theſe demands, and all other proceedings be- " tween *Great Britain* and *France* ſhall be kept in- " violably ſecret, until they are publiſhed by the " mutual conſent of both parties."

The laſt article was not only intended for avoiding, if poſſible, the jealouſy of the *Dutch*, but to prevent the clamours of the abettors here at home, who, under the pretended fears of our doing injuſtice to the *Dutch*, by acting without the privity of that republick, in order to make a ſeparate peace, would be ready to drive on the worſt deſigns againſt the queen and miniſtry, in order to recover the power they had loſt.

In *June*, 1711, Mr. *Prior*, a perſon of great diſtinction, not only on account of his wit, but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the *French* court, was diſpatched thither by her majeſty with the foregoing demands. This gentleman was received at *Verſailles* with great civility. The king declared, that no proceeding, in order to a general treaty, would

would be so agreeable to him as by the intervention of *England*; and that his majesty, being desirous to contribute with all his power towards the repose of *Europe*, did answer to the demands which had been made.

"That he would consent freely and sincerely "to all just and reasonable methods, for hin- "dering the crowns of *France* and *Spain* from "being ever united under the same prince; his "majesty being persuaded, that such an excess of "power would be as contrary to the general good "and repose of *Europe*, as it was opposite to the "will of the late Catholic king *Charles* the second. "He said his intention was, that all parties in the "present war should find their reasonable satisfac- "tion in the intended treaty of peace; and that "trade should be settled and maintained for the "future, to the advantage of those nations which "formerly possessed it.

"That, as the king will exactly observe the "conditions of peace, whenever it shall be con- "cluded; and as the object he proposeth to himself, "is to secure the frontiers of his own kingdom, "without giving any sort of disturbance to his neigh- "bours, he promiseth to agree, that, by the future "treaty of peace, the *Dutch* shall be put into pos- "session of all fortified places as shall be specified in "the said treaty to serve for a barrier to that re- "publick, against all attempts on the side of *France*. "He engages likewise to give all necessary securi- "ties, for removing the jealousies raised among the "*German* princes of his majesty's designs.

That

" That, when the conferences, in order to a " general treaty, shall be formed, all the preten- " sions of the several princes and states engaged " in the present war, shall be fairly and amicably " discussed; nor shall any thing be omitted, which " may regulate and determine them to the satis- " faction of all parties.

" That, pursuant to the demands made by *Eng-* " *land*, his majesty promises to restore to the duke " of *Savoy* those demesnes and territories, which " belonged to that prince at the beginning of this " war, and which his majesty is now in possession " of; and the king consents further, that such " other places in *Italy* shall be yielded to the duke " of *Savoy*, as shall be found necessary, according " to the sense of those treaties made between the " said duke and his allies.

" That the king's sentiments of the present " government of *Great Britain*, the open declara- " tion he had made in *Holland* of his resolution " to treat of peace, by applications to the *English*; " the assurances he had given of engaging the king " of *Spain* to leave *Gibraltar* in their hands (all " which are convincing proofs of his perfect esteem " for a nation still in war with him); leave no " room to doubt of his majesty's inclination to give " *England* all securities and advantages for their " trade, which they can reasonably demand. But, " as his majesty cannot perswade himself, that a " government, so clear-sighted as ours, will in- " sist upon conditions which must absolutely destroy

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" the trade of *France* and *Spain*, as well as that of " all other nations of *Europe*, he thinks the de- " mands made by *Great Britain* may require a more " particular diſcuſſion.

" That, upon this foundation, the king thought " the beſt way of advancing and perfecting a nego- " ciation, the beginning of which he had ſeen with " ſo much ſatisfaction, would be to ſend into *Eng-* " *land* a perſon inſtructed in his intention, and au- " thoriſed by him to agree upon ſecurities for ſet- " tling the trade of the ſubjects of *England*; and " thoſe particular advantages to be ſtipulated in " their favour, without deſtroying the trade of the " *French* and *Spaniards*, or of other nations in *Chriſt-* " *endom*.

" That therefore his majeſty had charged the " perſon choſen for this commiſſion, to anſwer the " other articles of the memorial given him by Mr. " *Prior*, the ſecret of which ſhould be exactly ob- " ſerved."

Monſ. *de Torcy* had, for ſome years paſt, uſed all his endeavours to incline his maſter towards a peace, purſuant to the maxim of his uncle *Colbert*, " That " a long war was not for the intereſt of *France*." It was for this reaſon the king made choice of him in the conferences at the *Hague*; the bad ſucceſs whereof, although it filled him with reſentments againſt the *Dutch*, did not alter his opinion: but he was violently oppoſed by a party both in the court and kingdom, who pretended to fear he would ſa- crifice the glory of the prince and country by too large

large conceſſions; or perhaps would rather wiſh that the firſt offers ſhould have been ſtill made to the *Dutch*, as a people more likely to be leſs ſolicitous about the intereſt of *Britain*, than her majeſty would certainly be for theirs: and the particular deſign of Mr. *Prior* was to find out, whether that miniſter had credit enough with his prince, and a ſupport from others in power, ſufficient to over-rule the faction againſt peace.

Mr. *Prior's* journey could not be kept a ſecret, as the court here at firſt ſeemed to intend it. He was diſcovered at his return by an officer of the port at *Dover*, where he landed, after ſix weeks abſence; upon which the *Dutch* Gazettes and *Engliſh* News-papers were full of ſpeculations.

At the ſame time with Mr. *Prior* there arrived from *France* Monſ. *Meſnager*, knight of the order of *St. Michael*, and one of the council of trade to the moſt Chriſtian king. His commiſſion was, in general, impowering him to treat with the miniſter of any prince engaged in the war againſt his maſter. In his firſt conferences with the queen's miniſters, he pretended orders to inſiſt, that her majeſty ſhould enter upon particular engagements in ſeveral articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the intereſt of the allies reciprocally with thoſe of the moſt Chriſtian king: whereas the negociation had begun upon this principle, that *France* ſhould conſent to adjuſt the intereſts of *Great Britain* in the firſt place, whereby her majeſty would be afterwards enabled, by her good offices

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on all ſides, to facilitate the general peace. The queen reſolved never to depart from this principle; but was abſolutely determined to remit the particular intereſts of the allies to general conferences, where ſhe would do the utmoſt in her power to procure the repoſe of *Europe*, and the ſatisfaction of all parties. It was plain, *France* could run no hazard by this proceeding, becauſe the preliminary articles would have no force before a general peace was ſigned: therefore it was not doubted but Monſ. *Meſnager* would have orders to wave this new pretenſion, and go on in treating upon that foot which was at firſt propoſed. In ſhort, the miniſters required a poſitive and ſpeedy anſwer to the articles in queſtion, ſince they contained only ſuch advantages and ſecurities as her majeſty thought ſhe had a right to require from any prince whatſoever, to whom the dominions of *Spain* ſhould happen to fall.

The particular demands of *Britain* were formed into eight articles; which Monſ. *Meſnager*, having tranſmitted to his court and received new powers from thence, had orders to give his maſter's conſent, by way of anſwers to the ſeveral points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. Theſe demands, together with the anſwers of the *French* king, were drawn up and ſigned by Monſ. *Meſnager*, and her majeſty's two principal ſecretaries of State; whereof I ſhall here preſent an extract to the reader.

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In the preamble the moſt Chriſtian king ſets forth, "That, being particularly informed, by "the laſt memorial which the *Britiſh* miniſters de- "livered to Monſieur *Meſnager*, of the diſpoſi- "tions of this crown to facilitate a general peace, to "the ſatisfaction of the ſeveral parties concerned; "and his majeſty finding, in effect, as the ſaid "memorial declares, that he runs no hazard by "engaging himſelf in the manner there expreſſed, "ſince the preliminary articles will be of no force, "until the ſigning of the general peace; and being "ſincerely deſirous to advance, to the utmoſt of his "power, the repoſe of *Europe*, eſpecially by a way "ſo agreeable as the interpoſition of a princeſs, "whom ſo many ties of blood ought to unite to "him, and whoſe ſentiments for the public tran- "quility cannot be doubted; his Majeſty, moved "by theſe conſiderations, hath ordered Monſ. "*Meſnager*, Knight, *&c.* to give the following "anſwers, in writing, to the articles contained in "the memorial tranſmitted to him, intituled *Pre-* "*liminary Demands for* Great Britain *in particular*."

The articles were theſe that follow.

"Firſt, The ſucceſſion to the crown to be ac- "knowledged, according to the preſent eſtabliſh- "ment.

"Secondly, A new treaty of commerce between "*Great Britain* and *France* to be made, after the "moſt juſt and reaſonable manner.

"Thirdly, *Dunkirk* to be demoliſhed.

"Fourthly,

" Fourthly, *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to con-
" tinue in the hands of thoſe who now poſſeſs them.

" Fifthly, The Aſſiento (or liberty of ſelling
" negroes to the *Spaniſh* Weſt-Indies) to be grant-
" ed to the *Engliſh*, in as full a manner as the *French*
" poſſeſs it at preſent; and ſuch places in the
" ſaid *Weſt-Indies* to be aſſigned to the perſons con-
" cerned in this trade, for the refreſhment and ſale
" of their Negroes, as ſhall be found neceſſary and
" convenient.

" Sixthly, Whatever advantages, privileges,
" and rights are already, or may hereafter be,
" granted by *Spain* to the ſubjects of *France*, or any
" other nation, ſhall be equally granted to the ſub-
" jects of *Great Britain*.

" Seventhly, For better protecting their trade in
" the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, the *Engliſh* ſhall be put
" into poſſeſſion of ſuch places as ſhall be named in
" the treaty of peace.

" Or, as an equivalent for this article, that the
" Aſſiento be granted to *Britain* for the term of
" thirty years. That the iſle of *St. Chriſtopher's* be
" likewiſe ſecured to the *Engliſh*.

" That the advantages and exemption from du-
" ties, promiſed by Monſieur *Meſnager*, which he
" affirms will amount to fifteen *per cent.* upon all
" goods of the growth and manufacture of *Great*
" *Britain*, be effectually allowed.

" That whereas, on the ſide of the river of *Plate*,
" the *Engliſh* are not in poſſeſſion of any colony, a

" certain

" certain extent of territory be allowed them on " the said river for refreshing and keeping their ne- " groes, till they are sold to the *Spaniards*; subject " nevertheless, to the inspection of an officer ap- " pointed by *Spain*.

" Eightly, *Newfoundland* and the Bay and " Streights of *Hudson*, shall be intirely restored to " the *English*; and *Great Britain* and *France* shall re- " spectively keep whatever dominions in *North Ame- " rica* each of them shall be in possession of, when " the ratification of this treaty shall be published in " those parts of the world."

The six first articles were allowed without any difficulty, except that about *Dunkirk*, where *France* was to have an equivalent, to be settled in a general treaty.

Difficulty arising upon the seventh article, the proposed equivalent was allowed instead thereof.

The last article was referred to the general treaty of peace; only the *French* insisted to have the power of fishing for cod, and drying them on the island of *Newfoundland*.

These articles were to be looked upon as conditions, which the most Christian king consented to allow; and whenever a general peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual form of a treaty, to the satisfaction of both crowns.

The queen having thus provided for the security and advantage of her kingdoms, whenever a peace should be made, and upon terms no way interfering with the interest of her allies; the next thing

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in order, was to procure from *France* ſuch preliminary articles, as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty. Theſe were adjuſted, and ſigned the ſame day with the former; and having been delivered to the ſeveral miniſters reſiding here from the powers in alliance with *England*, were quickly made public. But the various conſtructions and cenſures which paſſed upon them, have made it neceſſary to give the reader the following tranſcript:

"The king being willing to contribute all that "is in his power, to the re-eſtabliſhing of the "general peace, his majeſty declares,

"I. That he will acknowledge the queen of "*Great Britain* in that quality, as alſo the ſucceſ- "ſion of that crown, according to the preſent "ſettlement.

"II. That he will freely, and *bonâ fide*, conſent "to the taking all juſt and reaſonable meaſures, "for hindering that the crowns of *France* and "*Spain* may ever be united on the head of the "ſame prince; his majeſty being perſuaded, that "this exceſs of power would be contrary to the "good and quiet of *Europe*.

"III. The king's intention is, that all the par- "ties engaged in the preſent war, without except- "ing any of them, may find their reaſonable ſatis- "faction in the treaty of peace, which ſhall be "made: That commerce may be re-eſtabliſhed and "maintained for the future, to the advantage of "*Great Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other na-

" tions, who have been accuſtomed to exerciſe " commerce.

" IV. As the king will likewiſe maintain exact- " ly the obſervation of the peace, when it ſhall be " concluded, and the object the king propoſes to " himſelf, being to ſecure the frontiers of his king- " dom, without diſturbing in any manner whatever " the neighbouring ſtates, he promiſes to agree, by " the treaty which ſhall be made, that the *Dutch* " ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of the fortified places, " which ſhall be mentioned, in the *Netherlands*, " to ſerve hereafter for a barrier; which may ſecure " the quiet of the republick of *Holland* againſt any " enterprize from the part of *France*.

" V. The king conſents likewiſe, that a ſecure and " convenient barrier ſhould be formed for the em- " pire, and for the houſe of *Auſtria*.

" VI. Notwithſtanding *Dunkirk* coſt the king " very great ſums, as well to purchaſe it, as to for- " tify it; and that it is further neceſſary to be at " very conſiderable expence for razing the works, " his Majeſty is willing however to engage to cauſe " them to be demoliſhed, immediately after the " concluſion of the peace, on condition, that, for " the fortifications of that place, a proper equiva- " lent, that may content him, be given him: And, " as *England* cannot furniſh that equivalent, the " diſcuſſion of it ſhall be referred to the conferen- " ces to be held for the negociation of the " peace.

" VII.

" VII. When the conferences for the negocia-
" tion of the peace ſhall be formed, all the preten-
" ſions of the princes and ſtates, engaged in the
" preſent war, ſhall be therein diſcuſſed *bonâ fide*,
" and amicably: And nothing ſhall be omitted to
" regulate and terminate them to the ſatisfaction of
" all the parties.

MESNAGER."

Theſe overtures are founded upon the eighth article of the grand alliance, made in 1701; wherein are contained the conditions, without which a peace is not to be made; and whoever compares both, will find the preliminaries to reach every point propoſed in that article, which thoſe who cenſured them at home, if they ſpoke their thoughts, did not underſtand: for nothing can be plainer, than what the publick hath often been told, that the recovery of *Spain* from the houſe of *Bourbon* was a thing never imagined, when the war began, but a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction to the emperor. Much leſs ought ſuch a condition to be held neceſſary at preſent, not only becauſe it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable, but likewiſe becauſe, by the changes in the *Auſtrian* and *Bourbon* families, it would not be ſafe: neither did thoſe, who were loudeſt in blaming the *French* preliminaries, know any thing of the advantages privately ſtipulated for *Britain*, whoſe intereſts they aſſured us, were all made a ſacrifice to the corruption or folly of the ma-

nagers: and therefore, becauſe the oppoſers of peace have been better informed by what they have ſince heard and ſeen, they have changed their battery, and accuſed the miniſters for betraying the *Dutch*.

The Lord *Raby*, her majeſty's ambaſſador at the *Hague*, having made a ſhort journey to *England*, where he was created earl of *Strafford*, went back to *Holland* about the beginning of *October*, 1711, with the above preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the penſionary, and other miniſters of the States. The earl was inſtructed to let them know, "That the queen had, according to "their deſire, returned an anſwer to the firſt pro- "poſitions ſigned by Monſ. *Torcy*, ſignifying, that "the *French* offers were thought both by her ma- "jeſty and the States, neither ſo particular nor ſo "full as they ought to be; and inſiſting to have a "diſtinct project formed, of ſuch a peace as the "moſt Chriſtian king would be willing to con- "clude: that this affair having been for ſome time "tranſacted by papers, and thereby ſubject to de- "lays, Monſ. *Meſnager* was at length ſent over by "*France*, and had ſigned thoſe preliminaries now "communicated to them: that the ſeveral arti- "cles did not, indeed, contain ſuch particular "conceſſions as *France* muſt and will make in the "courſe of a treaty; but that, however, her ma- "jeſty thought them a ſufficient foundation where- "on to open the general conferences.

" That her majesty was unwilling to be charged " with determining the several interests of her allies, " and therefore contented herself with such gene- " ral offers as might include all the particular de- " mands, proper to be made during the treaty; " where the confederates must resolve to adhere " firmly together, in order to obtain from the ene- " my the utmost that could be hoped for, in the pre- " sent circumstances of affairs; which rule, her " majesty assured the States, she would, on her " part, firmly observe."

If the ministers of *Holland* should express any uneasiness, that her majesty may have settled the interests of her own kingdoms, in a future peace, by any private agreement, the ambassador was ordered to say, " That the queen had hitherto refused to " have the treaty carried on in her own kingdom, and " would continue to do so, unless they (the *Dutch*) " constrained her to take another measure: That " by these means the States, and the rest of the " allies, would have the opportunity of treating " and adjusting their different pretensions; which " her majesty would promote with all the zeal she " had shewn for the common good, and the parti- " cular advantage of that republick (as they must " do her the justice to confess), in the whole course " of her reign: that the queen had made no stipu- " lation for herself, which might clash with the in- " terests of *Holland*; and that the articles to be in- " serted in a future treaty, for the benefit of *Bri- " tain*, were, for the most part, such as contained

" advantages, which must either be continued to " the enemy, or be obtained by her majesty; but, " however, that no concession should tempt her to " hearken to a peace, unless her good friends and " allies the States General had all reasonable satis- " faction, as to their trade and barrier, as well as " in all other respects."

After these assurances given in the queen's name, the earl was to insinuate, " That her majesty should " have just reason to be offended, and to think the " proceeding between her and the States very un- " equal, if they should pretend to have any further " uneasiness upon this head: That, being deter- " mined to accept no advantages to herself, repug- " nant to their interests, nor any peace, without " their reasonable satisfaction, the figure she had " made during the whole course of the war, and " the part she had acted, superior to any of the " allies, who were more concerned in danger and " interest might justly intitle her to settle the con- " cerns of *Great Britain*, before she would con- " sent to a general negociation."

If the States should object the engagements the queen was under, by treaties, of making no peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the Barrier-treaty, the ambassador was to answer, " That, as to the former, her majesty " had not in any sort acted contrary thereto: " That she was so far from making a peace with- " out their consent, as to declare her firm resolu- " tion not to make it without their satisfaction;

" and

" and that what had paſſed between *France* and her, " amounted to no more than an introduction to " a general treaty." As to the latter, the earl had orders to repreſent very earneſtly, " How much " it was even for the intereſt of *Holland* itſelf, " rather to compound the advantage of the Barrier- " treaty, than to inſiſt upon the whole, which " the houſe of *Auſtria*, and ſeveral other allies, " would never conſent to: That nothing could be " more odious to the people of *England* than many " parts of this treaty; which would have raiſed " univerſal indignation, if the utmoſt care had not " been taken to quiet the minds of thoſe who were " acquainted with the terms of that guaranty, and " to conceal them from thoſe who were not: That " it was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain a good " harmony between both nations, without which " it would be impoſſible at any time to form a " ſtrength for reducing an exorbitant power, or " preſerving the balance of *Europe:* from whence " it followed, that it could not be the true intereſt " of either country to inſiſt upon any conditions, " which might give juſt apprehenſion to the other.

" That *France* had propoſed *Utrecht*, *Nimeguen*, " *Aix*, or *Liege*, wherein to hold the general trea- " ty; and her majeſty was ready to ſend her pleni- " potentiaries, to which ever of thoſe towns the " States ſhould approve."

If the imperial miniſters, or thoſe of the other allies, ſhould object againſt the preliminaries as no ſufficient ground for opening the conferences, and

inſiſt that *France* ſhould conſent to ſuch articles as were ſigned on the part of the allies in the year 1709, the earl of *Strafford* was in anſwer directed to inſinuate, "That the *French* might have probably been brought to explain themſelves more particularly, had they not perceived the uneaſineſs, impatience, and jealouſy among the allies, during our tranſactions with that court." However he ſhould declare to them in the queen's name, "That, if they were determined to accept of peace upon no terms inferior to what was formerly demanded, her majeſty was ready to concur with them; but would no longer bear thoſe diſproportions of expence, yearly increaſed upon her, nor the deficiency of the confederates in every part of the war: That it was therefore incumbent upon them to furniſh, for the future, ſuch quotas of ſhips and forces as they were now wanting in, and to increaſe their expence, while her majeſty reduced her's to a reaſonable and juſt proportion."

That, if the miniſters of *Vienna* and *Holland* ſhould urge their inability upon this head, the queen inſiſted, "They ought to comply with her in war or in peace; her majeſty deſiring nothing as to the firſt, but what they ought to perform, and what is abſolutely neceſſary: and as to the latter, that ſhe had done, and would continue to do, the utmoſt in her power towards obtaining ſuch a peace as might be to the ſatisfaction of all her allies."

Some

Some days after the earl of *Strafford's* departure to *Holland*, Monſ. *Buys*, penſionary of *Amſterdam*, arrived here from thence with inſtructions from his maſters, to treat upon the ſubject of the *French* preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his firſt conference with a committee of council, he objected againſt all the articles, as too general and uncertain; and againſt ſome of them, as prejudicial. He ſaid, "The *French* promiſing that "trade ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed and maintained for the "future, was meant in order to deprive the *Dutch* of "their tariff of 1664; for the plenipotentiaries of that "crown would certainly expound the word *Retablir*, "to ſignify no more than reſtoring the trade of the "States to the condition it was in immediately be-"fore the commencement of the preſent war." He ſaid, "That, in the article of *Dunkirk*, the de-"ſtruction of the harbour was not mentioned; "and that the fortifications were only to be razed "upon condition of an equivalent, which might "occaſion a difference between her majeſty and the "States, ſince *Holland* would think it hard to have "a town leſs in their barrier for the demolition of "*Dunkirk*; and *England* would complain to have "this thorn continue in their ſide, for the ſake of "giving one town more to the *Dutch*."

Laſtly, he objected, "That, where the *French* "promiſed effectual methods ſhould be taken to "prevent the union of *France* and *Spain* under the "ſame king, they offered nothing at all for the ceſ-

"ſion

" ſion of *Spain*, which was the moſt important " point of the war.

" For theſe reaſons, Monſ. *Buys* hoped her ma- " jeſty would alter her meaſures, and demand ſpe- " cific articles, upon which the allies might debate " whether they would conſent to a negociation or " no."

The queen, who looked upon all theſe difficulties, raiſed about the method of treating, as endeavours to wreſt the negociation out of her hands, commanded the lords of the committee to let Monſ. *Buys* know, " That the experience ſhe " formerly had of proceeding by particular prelimi- " naries towards a general treaty, gave her no en- " couragement to repeat the ſame method any more: " That ſuch a preliminary treaty muſt be negocia- " ted either by ſome particular allies, or by all. " The firſt, her majeſty could never ſuffer, ſince " ſhe would neither take upon her to ſettle the in- " tereſts of others, nor ſubmit that others ſhould " ſettle thoſe of her own kingdoms. As to the ſe- " cond, it was liable to Monſ. *Buys's* objection, " becauſe the miniſters of *France* would have as fair " an opportunity of ſowing diviſion among the al- " lies, when they were all aſſembled upon a preli- " minary treaty, as when the conferences were open " for a negociation of peace: That this method " could therefore have no other effect than to delay " the treaty, without any advantage: That her " majeſty was heartily diſpoſed, both then and du- " ring the negociation, to inſiſt on every thing ne- " ceſſary

" ceſſary for ſecuring the barrier and commerce of " the States; and therefore hoped the conferences " might be opened, without farther difficulties.

" That her majeſty did not only conſent but de- " ſire to have a plan ſettled for carrying on the " war, as ſoon as the negociation of peace ſhould " begin; but expected to have the burthen more " equally laid, and more agreeable to treaties; and " would join with the States in preſſing the allies to " perform their parts as ſhe had endeavoured to ani- " mate them by her example."

Monſ. *Buys* ſeemed to know little of his maſters mind, and pretended he had no power to conclude upon any thing. Her majeſty's miniſter propoſed to him an alliance between the two nations, to ſubſiſt after a peace. To this he hearkened very readily, and offered to take the matter *ad referendum*, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to negociate, in order to gain time to pick out, if poſſible, the whole ſecret of the tranſactions between *Britain* and *France*; to diſcloſe nothing himſelf, nor bind his maſters to any conditions; to ſeek delays till the parliament met, and then obſerve what turn it took, and what would be the iſſue of thoſe frequent cabals between himſelf and ſome other foreign miniſters, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the diſcontented faction.

The *Dutch* hoped, that the clamours raiſed againſt the proceedings of the queen's miniſters towards a peace, would make the parliament diſapprove

prove what had been done; whereby the States would be at the head of the negociation, which the queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miſcarried twice already; although prince *Eugene* himſelf owned, "that *France* "was then diſpoſed to conclude a peace upon ſuch "conditions, as it was not worth the life of a "grenadier to refuſe them." As to inſiſting upon ſpecific preliminaries, her majeſty thought her own method much better, for each ally, in the courſe of the negociation, to advance and manage his "own pretenſions, wherein ſhe would ſupport and "aſſiſt them, rather than for two miniſters of one ally to treat ſolely with the enemy, and report what they pleaſed to the reſt, as was practiſed by the *Dutch* at *Gertruydenberg*.

One part of Monſ. *Buys's* inſtructions was to deſire the queen not to be ſo far amuſed by a treaty of peace, as to neglect her preparation for war againſt the next campaign. Her majeſty, who was firmly reſolved againſt ſubmitting any longer to that unequal burthen of expence ſhe had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. ſecretary *St. John* to debate the matter with that miniſter, who ſaid he had no power to treat; only inſiſted, that his maſters had fully done their part, and that nothing but exhortations could be uſed to prevail on the other allies to act with greater vigour.

On the other ſide, the queen refuſed to concert any plan for the proſecution of the war, till the States would join with her in agreeing to open the

the conferences of peace; which therefore, by Monſ. *Buys's* application to them, was accordingly done, by a reſolution taken in *Holland* upon the 21ſt of *November*, 1711, N. S.

About this time the count *de Gallas* was forbid the court, by order from the queen, who ſent him word, that ſhe looked upon him no longer as a public miniſter.

This gentleman thought fit to act a very diſhonourable part here in *England*, altogether inconſiſtent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and preſent emperors; two princes under the ſtricteſt ties of gratitude to the queen, eſpecially the latter, who had then the title of king of *Spain*. Count *Gallas*, about the end of *Auguſt*, 1711, with the utmoſt privacy, diſpatched an *Italian*, one of his clerks, to *Franckfort*, where the earl of *Peterborough* was then expected. This man was inſtructed to paſs for a *Spaniard*, and inſinuate himſelf into the earl's ſervice; which he accordingly did, and gave conſtant information to the laſt emperor's ſecretary at *Franckfort* of all he could gather up in his lordſhip's family, as well as copies of ſeveral letters he had tranſcribed. It was likewiſe diſcovered that *Gallas* had, in his diſpatches to the preſent emperor, then in *Spain*, repreſented the queen and her miniſters as not to be confided in: that, when her majeſty had diſmiſſed the earl of *Sunderland*, ſhe promiſed to proceed no farther in the change of her ſervants; yet ſoon after turned them all out, and thereby ruined the public credit, as well as abandoned *Spain*: that

that the preſent miniſters wanted the abilities and good diſpoſitions of the former; were perſons of ill deſigns, and enemies to the common cauſe, and he *(Gallas)* could not truſt them. In his letters to count *Zinzendorf*, he ſaid, "That Mr. ſecretary "*St. John* complained of the houſe of *Auſtria's* "backwardneſs, only to make the king of *Spain* "odious to *England*, and the people here deſirous "of a peace, although it were ever ſo bad one;" to prevent which count *Gallas* drew up a memorial which he intended to give the queen, and tranſmitted a draught of it to *Zinzendorf* for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promiſes to encourage the continuance of the war, propoſed the detaching a good body of troops from *Hungary* to ſerve in *Italy* or *Spain* as the queen ſhould think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a ſtep, without conſulting the emperor: to which *Gallas* replied, that his deſign was only to engage the queen to go on with the war; that *Zinzendorf* knew how earneſtly the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had preſſed to have theſe troops from *Hungary*; and therefore they ought to be promiſed, in order to quiet thoſe two nations, after which ſeveral ways might be found to elude that promiſe; and, in the mean time, the great point would be gained of bringing the *Engliſh* to declare for continuing the war: that the emperor might afterwards excuſe himſelf, by the apprehenſion of a war in *Hungary*, or of that between the *Turks* and *Muſcovites*; that, if theſe excuſes ſhould be at an end,

end, a detachment of one or two regiments might be ſent, and the reſt deferred, by pretending want of money; by which the queen would probably be brought to maintain ſome part of thoſe troops, and perhaps the whole body. He added, that this way of management was very common among the allies; and gave for an example, the forces which the *Dutch* had promiſed for the ſervice of *Spain*, but were never ſent; with ſeveral other inſtances of the ſame kind, which he ſaid might be produced.

Her majeſty, who had long ſuſpected that count *Gallas* was engaged in theſe and the like practices, having at laſt received authentic proofs of this whole intrigue, from original letters, and the voluntary confeſſion of thoſe who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it neceſſary to ſhew her reſentment, by refuſing the count any more acceſs to her perſon or her court.

Although the queen, as it hath been already obſerved, were reſolved to open the conferences upon the general preliminaries, yet ſhe thought it would very much forward the peace, to know what were the utmoſt conceſſions which *France* would make to the ſeveral allies, but eſpecially to the States General and the duke of *Savoy*: therefore, while her majeſty was preſſing the former to agree to a general treaty, the abbé *Gualtier* was ſent to *France* with a memorial, to deſire that the moſt Chriſtian king would explain himſelf upon thoſe preliminaries, particularly with relation to *Savoy* and *Holland*, whoſe ſatisfaction the queen had

moſt

moſt at heart, as well from her friendſhip to both theſe powers, as becauſe, if ſhe might engage to them that their juſt pretenſions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, of any moment, to retard the general peace.

The *French* anſwer to this memorial contained ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals for the ſatisfaction of each ally, coming up very near to what her majeſty and her miniſters thought reaſonable. The greateſt difficulties ſeemed to be about the elector of *Bavaria*, for whoſe intereſts *France* appeared to be as much concerned, as the queen was for thoſe of the duke of *Savoy*: however, thoſe were judged not very hard to be ſurmounted.

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her majeſty and that republic:

"That the congreſs ſhould be held at *Utrecht*; "that the opening of the congreſs ſhould be upon "the 12th of *January*, N. S. 1711-12.

"That, for avoiding all inconveniences of cere- "mony, the miniſters of the queen and States, "during the treaty, ſhould only have the charac- "ters of plenipotentiaries, and not take that of "ambaſſadors, till the day on which the peace "ſhould be ſigned.

"Laſtly, The queen and States inſiſted, that "the miniſters of the duke of *Anjou*, and the late "electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, ſhould not ap- "pear at the congreſs, until the points relating to "their maſters were adjuſted; and were firmly re-

"ſolved

" ſolved not to ſend their paſſports for the mini-
" ſters of *France*, till the moſt Chriſtian king de-
" clared, that the abſence of the forementioned
" miniſters ſhould not delay the progreſs of the
" negociation."

Purſuant to the three former articles, her majeſty wrote circular letters to all the allies engaged with her in the preſent war: and *France* had notice, that, as ſoon as the king declared his compliance with the laſt article, the blank paſſports ſhould be filled up with the names of the marechal *D'Uxelles*, the abbé *de Polignac*, and Monſ. *Meſnager*, who were appointed plenipotentiaries for that crown.

From what I have hitherto deduced, the reader ſees the plan which the queen thought the moſt effectual for advancing a peace. As the conferences were to begin upon the general preliminaries, the queen was to be empowered by *France* to offer ſeparately to the allies what might be reaſonable for each to accept; and her own intereſts being previouſly ſettled, ſhe was to act as a general mediator: a figure that became her beſt, from the part ſhe had in the war, and more uſeful to the great end at which ſhe aimed, of giving a ſafe and honourable peace to *Europe*.

Beſides, it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the intereſts of *Britain*, that the queen ſhould be at the head of the negociation, without which her majeſty could find no expedient to redreſs the injuries her kingdoms were ſure to ſuffer by the Barrier-treaty. In order to ſettle this point with the States,

the miniſters here had a conference with Monſ. *Buys*, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, "how neceſſary it was, by a previous concert be- "tween the emperor, the queen, and the States, "to prevent any difference which might ariſe in the "courſe of the treaty at *Utrecht:* That, under pre- "tence of a barrier for the States General, as their "ſecurity againſt *France*, infinite prejudice might "ariſe to the trade of *Britain* in the *Spaniſh Nether-* "*lands*; for by the fifteenth article of the Barrier- "treaty, in conſequence of what was ſtipulated by "that of *Munſter*, the queen was brought to en- "gage that commerce ſhall not be rendered more "eaſy, in point of duties, by the ſea-ports of *Flan-* "*ders*, than it is by the river *Scheld*, and by the "canals on the ſide of the Seven provinces, which, "as things now ſtood, was very unjuſt; for while "the towns in *Flanders* were in the hands of *France* "or *Spain*, the *Dutch* and we traded to them upon "equal foot; but now, ſince by the Barrier-treaty "thoſe towns were to be poſſeſſed by the States, "that republick might lay what duties they pleaſed "upon *Britiſh* goods, after paſſing by *Oſtend*, and "make their own cuſtom-free, which would ut- "terly ruin our whole trade with *Flanders*."

Upon this, the lords told Mr. *Buys* very frankly, "That if the States expected the queen ſhould ſup- "port their barrier, as their demands from *France* "and the houſe of *Auſtria*, upon that head, they "ought to agree, that the ſubjects of *Britain* ſhould "trade as freely to all the countries and places,

"trade

" which, by virtue of any former or future treaty, " were to become the barrier of the States, as they " did in the time of the late king *Charles* the second " of *Spain*; or as the subjects of the States-General " themselves shall do: and that it was hoped, their " high-mightinesses would never scruple to rectify " a mistake so injurious to that nation, without " whose blood and treasure they would have had no " barrier at all." Monsr. *Buys* had nothing to answer against these objections, but said, he had already wrote to his masters for further instructions.

Greater difficulties occurred about settling what should be the barrier to the States after a peace: the envoy insisting to have all the towns that were named in the treaty of barrier and succession; and the queen's ministers excepting those towns, which if they continued in the hands of the *Dutch*, would render the trade of *Britain* to *Flanders* precarious. At length it was agreed in general, that the States ought to have what is really essential to the security of their barrier against *France*; and that some amicable expedient should be found, for removing the fears both of *Britain* and *Holland* upon this point.

But at the same time Monsr. *Buys* was told, " That, although the queen would certainly insist " to obtain all those points from *France*, in behalf " of her allies the States, yet she hoped his masters " were too reasonable to break off the treaty, ra- " ther than not obtain the very utmost of their de-

" mands, which could not be settled here, unless " he were fully instructed to speak and conclude " upon that subject: that her majesty thought the " best way of securing the common interest, and " preventing the division of the allies, by the arti- " fices of *France*, in the course of a long negoci- " ation, would be to concert between the queen's " ministers and those of the States, with a due re- " gard to the other confederates, such a plan as " might amount to a safe and honourable peace." After which the abbé *Polignac*, who of the *French* plenipotentiaries was most in the secret of his court, might be told, " That it was in vain to " amuse each other any longer; that on such terms " the peace would be immediately concluded; and " that the conferences must cease, if those condi- " tions were not, without delay, and with expe- " dition, granted."

A treaty between her majesty and the States, to subsist after a peace, was now signed, Monsr. *Buys* having received full powers to that purpose. His masters were desirous to have a private article added, *sub sperati*, concerning those terms of peace; without the granting of which, we should stipulate not to agree with the enemy. But neither the character of *Buys*, nor the manner in which he was impowered to treat, would allow the queen to enter into such an engagement. The congress likewise approaching, there was not time to settle a point of so great importance. Neither, lastly, would her majesty be tied down by *Holland*, with-

out

out previous ſatisfaction upon ſeveral articles in the Barrier-treaty, ſo inconſiſtent with her engagements to other powers in the alliance, and ſo injurious to her own kingdoms.

The lord privy ſeal, and the earl of *Strafford*, having, about the time the parliament met, been appointed her majeſty's plenipotentiaries for treating a general peace, I ſhall here break off the account of any further progreſs made in that great affair, untill I reſume it in the laſt book of this Hiſtory.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

BOOK III.

THE houſe of commons ſeemed reſolved, from the beginning of the ſeſſion, to inquire ſtrictly not only into all abuſes relating to the accounts of the army, but likewiſe into the ſeveral treaties between us and our allies, upon what articles and conditions they were firſt agreed to, and how theſe had been ſince obſerved. In the firſt week of their ſitting, they ſent an addreſs to the queen, to deſire that the treaty, whereby her majeſty was obliged to furniſh forty thouſand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of her allies in the *Low Countries*, might be laid before the houſe. To which the ſecretary of ſtate brought an anſwer, "That ſearch had been made, but no foot-ſteps "could be found of any treaty or convention for "that purpoſe." It was this unaccountable

neglect in the former miniſtry, which firſt gave a pretence to the allies for leſſening their quota's, ſo much to the diſadvantage of her majeſty, her kingdoms, and the common cauſe, in the courſe of the war. It had been ſtipulated by the grand alliance, between the emperor, *Britain*, and the States, that thoſe three powers ſhould aſſiſt each other with their whole force, and that the ſeveral proportions ſhould be ſpecified in a particular convention. But if any ſuch convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed, by common conſent, to take each a certain ſhare of the burthen upon themſelves, which the late king *William* communicated to the houſe of commons by his ſecretary of ſtate; and which afterwards the other two powers, obſerving the mighty zeal in our miniſtry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleaſed.

The commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom had, in executing their office the preceding ſummer, diſcovered ſeveral practices relating to the affairs of the army, which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the houſe.

The commons began their examination of the report with a member of their own, Mr. *Robert Walpole*, already mentioned; who, during his being ſecretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage for the queen's troops quartered in *Scotland*. He endeavoured to excuſe

ſuſe the firſt contract, but had nothing to ſay about the ſecond. The firſt appeared ſo plain and ſo ſcandalous to the Commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of truſt, and notorious corruption, committed him priſoner to the tower, where he continued to the end of the ſeſſion, and expelled him the houſe. He was a perſon much careſſed by the oppoſers of the queen and miniſtry, having been firſt drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept ſteady by the loſs of his place. His bold, forward countenance, altogether a ſtranger to that infirmity which makes men baſhful, joined to a readineſs of ſpeaking in public, hath juſtly intitled him, among thoſe of his faction, to be a ſort of leader of the ſecond form. The reader muſt excuſe me for being ſo particular about one, who is otherwiſe altogether obſcure.

Another part of the report concerned the duke of *Marlborough*, who had received large ſums of money, by way of gratuity, from thoſe who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the duke excuſed, in a letter to the commiſſioners, from the like practice of other generals: but that excuſe appeared to be of little weight, and the miſchievous conſequences of ſuch a corruption were viſible enough; ſince the money given by theſe undertakers were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And as frauds, that begin at the top, are apt to ſpread through all the ſubordinate ranks of thoſe who

who have any ſhare in the management, and to increaſe as they circulate; ſo, in this caſe, for every thouſand pounds given to the general, the ſoldiers at leaſt ſuffered fourfold.

Another article of this report, relating to the duke, was yet of more importance. The greateſt part of her majeſty's forces in *Flanders* were mercenary troops, hired from ſeveral princes of *Europe*. It was found that the queen's general ſubſtracted two and a half *per cent.* out of the pay of thoſe troops, for his own uſe, which amounted to a great annual ſum. The duke of *Marlborough*, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commiſſioners, "That "this deduction was a free gift from the foreign "troops, which he had negociated with them by "the late king's orders, and had obtained the "queen's warrant for reſerving and receiving it: "That it was intended for ſecret ſervice, the ten "thouſand pounds a year given by parliament not "proving ſufficient, and had all been laid out that "way." The commiſſioners obſerved, in anſwer, "That the warrant was kept dormant for nine "years, as indeed no entry of it appeared in the "ſecretary of ſtate's books, and the deduction of "it concealed all that time from the knowledge of "parliament: That, if it had been a free gift from "the foreign troops, it would not have been ſtipu-"lated by agreement, as the duke's letter confeſſed, "and as his warrant declared, which latter affirm-"ed this ſtoppage to be intended for defraying

"ex-

" extraordinary contingent expences of the troops, " and therefore ſhould not have been applied to ſe- " cret ſervices." They ſubmitted to the houſe, whether the warrant itſelf were legal or duly counterſigned. The commiſſioners added, " That no re- " ceipt was ever given for this deducted money, " nor was it mentioned in any receipts from the for- " eign troops, which were always taken in full. " And laſtly, That the whole ſum, on computati- " on, amounted to near three hundred thouſand " pounds."

The houſe, after a long debate, reſolved, " That the taking ſeveral ſums from the contract- " ers for bread by the duke of *Marlborough*, was " unwarrantable and illegal; and that the two " and a half *per cent.* deducted from the foreign " troops, was public money, and ought to be ac- " counted for:" which reſolutions were laid before the queen by the whole houſe, and her majeſty promiſed to do her part in redreſſing what was complained of. The duke and his friends had, about the beginning of the war, by their credit with the queen, procured a warrant from her majeſty for this perquiſite of two and a half *per cent.* The warrant was directed to the duke of *Marlborough*, and counter-ſigned by Sir *Charles Hedges*, then ſecretary of ſtate; by virtue of which the paymaſter-general of the army was to pay the ſaid deducted money to the general, and take a receipt in full from the foreign troops.

It

It was obſerved, as very commendable and becoming the dignity of ſuch an aſſembly, that this debate was managed with great temper, and with few perſonal reflexions upon the duke of *Marlborough*. They ſeemed only deſirous to come at the truth, without which they could not anſwer the truſt repoſed in them by thoſe whom they repreſented, and left the reſt to her majeſty's prudence. The attorney-general was ordered to commence an action againſt the duke for the ſubſtracted money, which would have amounted to a great ſum, enough to ruin any private perſon, except himſelf. This proceſs is ſtill depending, although very moderately purſued, either by the queen's indulgence to one whom ſhe had formerly ſo much truſted, or perhaps to be revived or ſlackened, according to the future demeanour of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. *Cardonell*, a member of parliament, and ſecretary to the general in *Flanders*, was expelled the houſe, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from thoſe who had contracted to furniſh bread for the army; and met with no further puniſhment for a practice, voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

Theſe were all the cenſures of any moment which the commons, under ſo great a weight of buſineſs, thought fit to make, upon the reports of their commiſſioners for inſpecting the publick accounts. But having promiſed, in the beginning of this Hiſtory, to examine the ſtate of the nation, with reſpect to its debts; by what negligence or

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corruption they firſt began, and in proceſs of time made ſuch a prodigious increaſe; and, laſtly, what courſes have been taken, under the preſent adminiſtration, to find out funds for anſwering ſo many unprovided incumbrances, as well as put a ſtop to new ones; I ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy the reader upon this important article.

By all I have yet read of the hiſtory of our own country, it appears to me, that the national debts, ſecured upon parliamentary funds of intereſt, were things unknown in *England* before the laſt revolution under the prince of *Orange*. It is true, that in the grand rebellion the king's enemies borrowed money of particular perſons, upon what they called the public faith; but this was only for ſhort periods, and the ſums no more than what they could pay at once, as they conſtantly did. Some of our kings have been very profuſe in peace and war, and are blamed in hiſtory for their oppreſſions of the people by ſevere taxes, and for borrowing money which they never paid: but national debts was a ſtyle, which, I doubt, would hardly then be underſtood. When the prince of *Orange* was raiſed to the throne, and a general war began in theſe parts of *Europe*, the king and his counſellors thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in eaſe and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought: wherefore one of the firſt actions of the new government was to take off the tax upon chimnies, as a burthen very ungrateful

grateful to the commonalty. But money being wanted to support the war (which even the convention-parliament, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he should engage in), the present bishop of *Salisbury* [*b*] is said to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in *Holland*) of raising money upon the security of taxes, that were only sufficient to pay a large interest. The motives which prevailed on people to fall in with this project were many, and plausible; for supposing, as the ministers industriously gave out, that the war could not last above one or two campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes; and the debts accruing would, in process of time, be easily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large interest would draw in a great number of those whose money, by the dangers and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the government would, by surest principle, be obliged to support it. Besides, the men of estates could not be persuaded, without time and difficulty, to have those taxes laid on their lands, which custom hath since made so familiar; and it was the business of such as were then in power to cultivate a monied interest; because the gentry of the kingdom did not very much relish those new notions in government, to which the king, who had imbibed his politicks in his own country, was thought to give too

[*b*] Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*,

much

much way. Neither perhaps did that prince think national incumbrances to be any evil at all, since the flourishing republick, where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to Monsr. *Buys* the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, that it was for the interest of the publick to be in debt; which, perhaps, may be true in a commonwealth so crazily instituted, where the govenors cannot have too many pledges of their subjects fidelity, and where a great majority must inevitably be undone by any revolution, however brought about: but to prescribe the same rules to a monarchy, whose wealth ariseth from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped understanding.

I was moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied, that the pernicious counsels of borrowing money upon public funds of interest, as well as some other state-lessons, were taken indigested from the like practices among the *Dutch*, without allowing in the least for any difference in government, religion, law, custom, extent of country, or manners and dispositions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was first put in practice, artful men, in office and credit, began to consider what uses it might be applied to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful seminary, not only to establish a faction they intended to set up for their own support, but likewise to raise vast wealth for themselves

themſelves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifeſt, that nothing could promote theſe two deſigns ſo much, as burthening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders: for, as to the firſt, it was not to be doubted, that moneyed men would be always firm to the party of thoſe who adviſed the borrowing upon ſuch good ſecurity, and with ſuch exorbitant premiums and intereſt; and every new ſum that was lent, took away as much power from the landed men, as it added to theirs: ſo that the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was ſtill the better for them. Thus a new eſtate and property ſprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every houſe and foot of land in *England* paid a rent-charge, free of all taxes and defalcations, and purchaſed at leſs than half value. So that the gentlemen of eſtates were, in effect, but tenants to theſe new landlords; many of whom were able, in time, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of thoſe who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived at ſuch a height, that a very few years more of war and funds would have clearly caſt the balance on the monied ſide.

As to the ſecond, this project of borrowing upon funds was of mighty advantage to thoſe who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for, funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to ſtrike tallies for making up the reſt, which tallies were ſometimes

ſometimes (to ſpeak in the merchants phraſe) at above forty *per cent.* diſcount. At this price thoſe who were in the ſecret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency ſupplied in the next ſeſſion of parliament, by which they doubled their principal in a few months; and, for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities propoſed ſome farther advantage, either as to intereſt or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already ſettled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage was to continue till 1706, to be a fund for the payment of about five millions one hundred thouſand pounds. In the firſt parliament of the queen, the ſaid mortgage was continued till 1710, to ſupply a deficiency of 2,300,000 pounds, and intereſt of above a million; and in the intermediate years a great part of that fund was branched out into annuities for 99 years; ſo that the late miniſtry raiſed all their money to 1710, only by continuing funds which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were ſatisfied to continue the payments they had been accuſtomed to, and made the adminiſtration ſeem eaſy, ſince the war went on without any new taxes raiſed, except the very laſt year they were in power: not conſidering what a mighty fund was exhauſted, and muſt be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true intereſt of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty ſums borrowed upon it, but with the intereſt due upon thoſe ſums; for which the treaſury was forced to ſtrike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other proviſion of intereſt for three or four years: till at laſt the fund was ſo overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor intereſt, and tallies were ſtruck for both, which occaſioned their great diſcount.

But to avoid miſtakes upon a ſubject, where I am not very well verſed either in the ſtyle or matter, I will tranſcribe an account ſent me by a perſon [*i*] who is thoroughly inſtructed in theſe affairs.

"In the year 1707, the ſum of 822,381 pounds, "15 ſhillings and 6 pence, was raiſed, by con- "tinuing part of the general mortgage from 1710 "to 1712; but with no proviſion of intereſt till "*Auguſt* the firſt, 1710, otherwiſe than by ſtriking "tallies for it on that fund, payable after all the other "money borrowed.

"In 1708, the ſame funds were continued "from 1712 to 1714, to raiſe 729,067 pounds 15 "ſhillings and 6 pence; but no proviſion for in- "tereſt till *Auguſt* the firſt, 1712, otherwiſe than "as before, by ſtriking tallies for it on the ſame "fund, payable after all the reſt of the money

[*i*] Sir *John Blunt*.

"bor-

" borrowed. And the diſcount of tallies then " beginning to riſe, great part of that money " remains ſtill unraiſed; and there is nothing " thing to pay intereſt for the money lent, till *Au-* " *guſt* the firſt, 1712. But the late lord treaſurer " ſtruck tallies for the full ſum directed by the act " to be borrowed, great part of which have been " delivered in payment to the navy and victualling- " offices, and ſome are ſtill in the hands of the go- " vernment.

" In 1709, part of the ſame fund was continued " from *Auguſt* the firſt, 1714, to *Auguſt* the firſt, " 1716, to raiſe 645,000 pounds; and no proviſion " for intereſt till *Auguſt* the firſt, 1714 (which was " about five years), but by borrowing money on " the ſame fund, payable after the ſums before " lent; ſo that little of that money was lent. But " the tallies were ſtruck for what was unlent, ſome " of which were given out for the payment of the " navy and victualling, and ſome ſtill remain in " the hands of the government.

" In 1710, the ſums which were before given " from 1714, to 1716, were continued from thence " to 1720, to raiſe 1,296,552 pounds, 9 ſhillings " and 11 pence 3 farthings; and no immediate " proviſion for intereſt till *Auguſt* the firſt, 1716, " only, after the duty of one ſhilling *per* buſhel on " ſalt ſhould be cleared from the money it was then " charged with, and which was not ſo cleared till " *Midſummer* 1712 laſt; then that fund was to be " applied to pay the intereſt till *Auguſt* the firſt,

" 1716, which intereſt amounted to about ſeventy-
" ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three
" pounds *per annum*: and the ſaid ſalt fund pro-
" duceth but about fifty-five thouſand pounds *per*
" *annum*; ſo that no money was borrowed upon
" the general mortgage in 1710, except one hun-
" dred and fifty thouſand pounds lent by the *Swiſs*
" Cantons; but tallies were ſtruck for the whole
" ſum. Theſe all remained in the late treaſurer's
" hands at the time of his removal, yet the money
" was expended, which occaſioned thoſe great de-
" mands upon the commiſſioners of the treaſury
" who ſucceeded him, and were forced to pawn
" thoſe tallies to the Bank, or to remitters, rather
" than ſell them at 20 or 25 *per cent.* diſcount, as
" the price then was. About 200,000 pounds of
" them they paid to clothiers of the army, and
" others; and all the reſt, being above 90,000
" pounds, have been ſubſcribed into the South-
" ſea company, for the uſe of the publick."

When the earl of *Godolphin* was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the Navy of millions, all contracted under his adminiſtration, which had no parliament-ſecurity, and was daily increaſed. Neither could I ever learn, whether that lord had the ſmalleſt proſpect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether there were policy, negligence, or deſpair at the bottom of this unaccountable management. But the conſequences were viſible and ruinous; for by this means navy-bills grew to be forty *per cent.* diſcount, and upwards; and

and almoſt every kind of ſtores, bought by the navy and victualling-offices, coſt the government double rates, and ſometimes more: ſo that the publick hath directly loſt ſeveral millions upon this one article, without any ſort of neceſſity, that I could ever hear aſſigned by the ableſt vindicators of that party.

In this oppreſſed and intangled ſtate was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the queen removed the earl of *Godolphin* from his office, and put it into commiſſion, of which the preſent treaſurer was one. This perſon had been choſen ſpeaker ſucceſſively to three parliaments, was afterwards ſecretary of ſtate, and always in great eſteem with the queen for his wiſdom and fidelity. The late miniſtry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her majeſty, much againſt her inclination, to diſmiſs him from her ſervice; for which they cannot be juſtly blamed, ſince he had endeavoured the ſame thing againſt them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary that he ſhould ſucceed in a ſecond attempt againſt thoſe very adverſaries, who had ſuch fair warning by the firſt. He is firm and ſteady in his reſolutions, not eaſily diverted from them after he hath once poſſeſſed himſelf of an opinion that they are right, nor very communicative where he can act by himſelf, being taught by experience, that a ſecret is ſeldom ſafe in more than one breaſt. That which occurs to other men after mature deliberation, offers to him as his firſt thoughts; ſo that he

decides immediately what is beſt to be done, and therefore is ſeldom at a loſs upon ſudden exigencies. He thinks it a more eaſy and ſafe rule in politicks to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he purſues, than pretend to foreſee them at a great diſtance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly ſtrangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether diſapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean, an eaſineſs and indifference under any imputation, although he be never ſo innocent, and although the ſtrongeſt probabilities and appearances are againſt him; ſo that I have known him often ſuſpected by his neareſt friends, for ſome months, in points of the higheſt importance, to a degree, that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the ſenſe they take the word, and as it is uſually underſtood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with leſs juſtice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he hath been at the helm, doth clearly demonſtrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in ſerving little turns, propoſing little ends, and ſupplying daily exigencies by little ſhifts and expedients. But to reſcue a prince out of the hands of inſolent ſubjects, bent upon ſuch deſigns

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as muſt probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying ſuch exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the moſt important fortreſs of his kingdom as a ſecurity; and this againſt all the oppoſition, mutually raiſed and inflamed by parties and allies; ſuch performances can only be called cunning by thoſe whoſe want of underſtanding, or of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themſelves do neither poſſeſs, nor can form any juſt conception of. However, it muſt be allowed, that an obſtinate love of ſecrecy in this miniſter ſeems, at diſtance, to have ſome reſemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of ſecrets, but appears to be ſo too, which I number amongſt his defects. He hath been blamed by his friends for refuſing to diſcover his intentions, even in thoſe points where the wiſeſt man may have need of advice and aſſiſtance; and ſome have cenſured him upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he hath been heard to anſwer, "That he ſeldom did otherwiſe without cauſe to repent."

However, ſo undiſtinguiſhed a caution cannot, in my opinion, be juſtified, by which the owner loſeth many advantages, and whereof all men, who deſerved to be confided in, may with ſome reaſon complain. His love of procraſtination (wherein doubtleſs nature hath her ſhare) may

probably be increaſed by the ſame means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great miniſters, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the leaſt conſequence, and go back to fetch it when their ſhoulders are free; for time is often gained, as well as loſt, by delay, which at worſt is a fault on the ſecurer ſide. Neither probably is this miniſter anſwerable for half the clamour raiſed againſt him upon that article: his endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular perſons, which renders him leſs amiable, than he would otherwiſe have been from the goodneſs of his humour, and agreeable converſation in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet ſome allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greateſt he hath, ſince he cannot be more careleſs of other men's fortunes than he is of his own. He is maſter of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty uſe in the management of public affairs; and I believe there are few examples to be produced in any age, of a perſon who hath paſſed through ſo many employments in the ſtate, endowed with a great ſhare, both of divine and human learning.

I am perſuaded that foreigners, as well as thoſe at home who live too remote from the ſcene of buſineſs to be rightly informed, will not be diſpleaſed with this account of a perſon, who, in the ſpace of two years, hath been ſo highly inſtrumental in

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changing the face of affairs in *Europe*, and hath deſerved ſo well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the public debts, which I have already deſcribed, this miniſter was brought into the treaſury and exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His firſt regulation was that of exchequer bills, which, to the great diſcouragement of public credit, and ſcandal to the crown, were three *per cent.* leſs in value than the ſums ſpecified in them. The preſent treaſurer, being then chancellor of the exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the bank of *England* ſhould be obliged, in conſideration of forty-five thouſand pounds, to accept and circulate thoſe bills without any diſcount. He then proceeded to ſtop the depredations of thoſe who dealt in remittances of money to the army, who, by unheard-of exactions in that kind of traffick, had amaſſed prodigious wealth at the public coſt, to which the earl of *Godolphin* had given too much way, [*k*] *poſſibly by neglect*; *for I think he cannot be accuſed of corruption.*

But the new treaſurer's chief concern was to reſtore the credit of the nation, by finding ſome ſettlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the publick as a load equally heavy and diſgraceful, without any proſpect of being removed, and which former miniſters never had the care or courage to inſpect.

[*k*] Added in the author's own hand-writing.

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He resolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy, and victualling, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year 1710, and some other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this, which, being applied to other uses, could not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the treasurer of the navy; and, as a farther advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company for trading to the South-seas, and for encouragement of fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a motion in the house of commons (who deferred extremely to his judgement and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy, and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars, which was immediately voted. But a sudden stop was put to this affair by an unforeseen accident. The chancellor of the exchequer (which was then his title) being stabbed with a penknife, the following day, at the cockpit, in the midst of a dozen lords of the council, by the sieur *de Guiscard*, a *French* papist; the circumstances of which fact being not within the compass of this history, I shall only observe, that, after two months confinement,

and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his ſeat in parliament [*l*].

The overtures made by this miniſter, of paying ſo vaſt a debt, under the preſſures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding ſupplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illneſs, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and viſionary project: and when, upon his return to the houſe, he had explained his propoſal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppoſe it; although the obtaining this trade, either through *Old Spain*, or directly to the *Spaniſh* Weſt-Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill paſſed; and, as an immediate conſequence, the naval bills roſe to about twenty *per cent.* nor ever fell within ten of their diſcount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have been ſince erected. The laſt of that kind, under the former miniſtry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the firſt, under the preſent, was filled in a very few hours, although it coſt the government leſs; and the others, which followed, were full before the acts concerning them could paſs. And to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmoſt parſimony, or by ſuſpending payments, where they ſeemed leſs to preſs, that all ſtores for the navy ſhould be bought with ready money; by which *cent.*

[*l*] See the particular account in the Examiner, the eighth volume of this collection.

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per cent. hath been saved in that mighty article of our expence, as will appear from an account taken at the victualling-office on the 9th of *August*, 1712. And the payment of the interest was less a burthen upon the navy, by the stores being bought at so cheap a rate.

It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of smaller moment. What I have above related, may serve to shew in how ill a condition the kingdom stood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption as well as negligence of former management; and what prudent, effectual measures have since been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be sufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a subject so little entertaining as that of accounts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal matters that passed in parliament, during this session.

Upon the 18th of *January*, the house of lords sent down a bill to the commons, for fixing the precedence of the *Hanover* family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for settling the succession of the crown. That of *Henry* VIII. which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no farther than to nephews, nieces, and grand-children of the crown; by virtue of which the princess *Sophia* is a princess of the blood, as niece to king *Charles* I. of *England*, and precedes accordingly; but this privilege doth not descend to her son the elector,

elector, or the electoral prince. To supply which defect, and pay a compliment to the presumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appeareth by the preamble, was recommended by her majesty to the house of lords; which the commons, to shew their zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the interest or honour of that illustrious family, ordered to be read thrice, and passed *nemine contradicente*, and returned to the lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was sent down.

But the house seemed to have nothing more at heart than a strict inquiry into the state of the nation, with respect to foreign alliances. Some discourses had been published in print, about the beginning of the session, boldly complaining of certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, concluded about three years since by the lord viscount *Townshend*, between *Great Britain* and the States General; and shewing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of these powers in our alliance, in furnishing their quotas and supplies. It was asserted by the same writers, "That these hardships, put "upon *England*, had been countenanced and en- "couraged by a party here at home, in order to "preserve their power, which could be no other- "wise maintained than by continuing the war, as "well as by her majesty's general abroad, upon ac- "count of his own peculiar interest and grandeur." These loud accusations spreading themselves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be

be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and, by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controversies, both in writing and discourse. The point appeared to be of great consequence, whether the war continued or not: for, in the former case, it was necessary that the allies should be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the States in particular, for whom her majesty had done such great things, should explain and correct those articles in the Barrier-treaty which were prejudicial to *Britain*; and, in either case, it was fit the people should have at least the satisfaction of knowing by whose counsels, and for what designs, they had been so hardly treated.

In order to this great enquiry, the Barrier-treaty, with all other treaties and agreements entered into between her majesty and her allies, during the present war, for the raising and augmenting the proportions for the service thereof, were, by the queen's directions, laid before the house.

Several resolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furnishing their quotas, upon certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, and upon the state of the war; by all which it appeared, that whatever had been charged by public discourses in print against the late ministry, and the conduct of the allies, was much less than the truth. Upon these resolutions (by one of which the lord viscount *Townsend*, who negociated and signed the Barrier-treaty, was declared

clared an enemy to the queen and kingdom), and upon ſome farther directions to the committee, a repreſentation was formed; and ſoon after the commons in a body preſented it to the queen, the endeavours of the adverſe party not prevailing to have it re-committed.

This repreſentation (ſuppoſed to be the work of Sir *Thomas Hanmer's* pen) is written with much energy and ſpirit, and will be a very uſeful authentic record, for the aſſiſtance of thoſe who at any time ſhall undertake to write the hiſtory of the preſent times.

I did intend, for brevity ſake, to have given the reader only an abſtract of it; but, upon trial, found myſelf unequal to ſuch a taſk, without injuring ſo excellent a piece. And although I think hiſtorical relations are but ill patched up with long tranſcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided; yet this being the ſum of all debates and reſolutions of the houſe of commons in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not be well omitted.

" Moſt gracious Sovereign,

" We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal " ſubjects, the commons of *Great Britain* in parlia- " ment aſſembled, having nothing ſo much at heart, " as to enable your majeſty to bring this long and " expenſive war to an honourable and happy con- " cluſion, have taken it into our moſt ſerious con- " ſideration, how the neceſſary ſupplies to be pro-

" vided

" vided by us may be beſt applied, and how the " common cauſe may in the moſt effectual man- " ner be carried on, by the united force of the " whole confederacy; we have thought ourſelves " obliged, in duty to your majeſty, and in diſ- " charge of the truſt repoſed in us, to inquire into " the true ſtate of the war, in all its parts; we have " examined what ſtipulations have been entered in- " to between your majeſty and your allies; and " how far ſuch engagements have on each ſide been " made good. We have conſidered the different " intereſts which the confederates have in the ſuc- " ceſs of this war, and the different ſhares they " have contributed to its ſupport: we have with " our utmoſt care and diligence endeavoured to " diſcover the nature, extent, and charge of it, to " the end that, by comparing the weight thereof " with our own ſtrength, we might adapt the one " to the other in ſuch meaſure, as neither to con- " tinue your majeſty's ſubjects under a heavier bur- " then than in reaſon and juſtice they ought to " bear; nor deceive your majeſty, your allies, and " ourſelves, by undertaking more than the nation " in its preſent circumſtances is able to perform.

" Your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed, up- " on our humble applications, to order ſuch mate- " rials to be laid before us, as have furniſhed us " with the neceſſary information upon the particu- " lars we have inquired into; and when we ſhall " have laid before your majeſty our obſervations, " and humble advice upon this ſubject, we pro-

" miſe to ourſelves this happy fruit from it, that, if " your majeſty's generous and good purpoſes, for " the procuring a ſafe and laſting peace, ſhould, " through the obſtinacy of the enemy, or by any " other means, be unhappily defeated, a true know- " ledge and underſtanding of the paſt conduct of " the war will be the beſt foundation for a more " frugal and equal management of it for the time " to come.

" In order to take the more perfect view of what " we propoſed, and that we might be able to ſet " the whole before your majeſty in a true light, we " have thought it neceſſary to go back to the begin- " ning of the war, and beg leave to obſerve the " motives and reaſons, upon which his late majeſty " king *William* firſt engaged in it. The treaty " of the grand alliance explains thoſe reaſons to be, " for the ſupporting the pretenſions of his imperi- " al majeſty, then actually engaged in a war with " the *French* king, who had uſurped the intire " *Spaniſh* monarchy for his grandſon the duke of " *Anjou*; and for the aſſiſting the States general, " who, by the loſs of their barrier againſt *France*, " were then in the ſame, or a more dangerous con- " dition, than if they were actually invaded. As " theſe were the juſt and neceſſary motives for un- " dertaking this war, ſo the ends propoſed to be " obtained by it were equally wiſe and honoura- " ble; for, as they are ſet forth in the eighth arti- " cle of the ſame treaty, they appear to have been " *the procuring an equitable and reaſonable ſatisfacti-*

" *on to his imperial majeſty, and ſufficient ſecurities*
" *for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and com-*
" *merce, of the king of* Great Britain, *and the States*
" *General, and the making effectual proviſion, that*
" *the two kingdoms of* France *and* Spain *ſhould never*
" *be united under the ſame government*; and particu-
" larly, that the *French* ſhould never get into the
" poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Weſt-Indies, or be per-
" mitted to ſail thither, upon the account of traffick,
" or under any pretence whatſoever; and laſtly,
" the ſecuring to the ſubjects of the king of *Great*
" *Britain*, and the States General, all the ſame
" privileges, and rights of commerce, through-
" out the whole dominions of *Spain*, as they en-
" joyed before the death of *Charles* II. king of
" *Spain*, by virtue of any treaty, agreement, or
" cuſtom, or any other way whatſoever. For the
" obtaining theſe ends, the three confederated pow-
" ers engaged to aſſiſt one another with their whole
" force, according to ſuch proportions as ſhould be
" ſpecified in a particular convention, afterwards
" to be made for that purpoſe: we do not find
" that any ſuch convention was ever ratified: but
" it appears, that there was an agreement con-
" cluded, which, by common conſent, was un-
" derſtood to be binding upon each party reſpect-
" ively, and according to which the proportions of
" *Great Britain* were from the beginning regulated
" and founded. The terms of that agreement were,
" that, for the ſervice at land, his imperial majeſty
" ſhould furniſh ninety thouſand men, the king of

" *Great*

" *Great Britain* forty thouſand, and the States " General one hundred and two thouſand, of " which there were forty-two thouſand intend- " ed to ſupply their garriſons, and ſixty thouſand " to act againſt the common enemy in the field; " and with regard to the operations of the war at " ſea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by " *Great Britain* and the States general, the quota " of ſhips to be furniſhed for that ſervice being " five eighths on the part of *Great Britain* and three " eighths on the part of the States general.

" Upon this foot, the war began in the year " 1702, at which time the whole yearly expence " of it to *England* amounted to three mil- " lions, ſeven hundred and ſix thouſand, four " hundred ninety-four pounds; a very great charge, " as it was then thought by your majeſty's ſubjects, " after the ſhort interval of eaſe they had enjoyed " from the burden of the former war, but yet a " very moderate proportion, in compariſon with the " load which hath ſince been laid upon them: for " it appears, by eſtimates given in to your " commons, that the ſums neceſſary to carry on " the ſervice for this preſent year, in the ſame " manner as it was performed the laſt year, amount " to more than ſix millions nine hundred and ſixty " thouſand pounds, beſides intereſt for the public " debts, and the deficiencies accruing the laſt year, " which two articles require one million one hun- " dred and forty-three thouſand pounds more: ſo " that the whole demands upon your commons are " ariſen to more than eight millions for the preſent

" annual ſupply. We know your majeſty's ten-
" der regard for the welfare of your people will
" make it uneaſy to you to hear of ſo great a preſ-
" ſure as this upon them; and as we are aſſured,
" it will fully convince your majeſty of the neceſ-
" ſity of our preſent inquiry; ſo we beg leave to
" repreſent to you, from what cauſes, and by
" what ſteps, this immenſe charge appears to have
" grown upon us.

" The ſervice at ſea, as it has been very large
" and extenſive in itſelf, ſo it has been carried on,
" through the whole courſe of the war, in a man-
" ner highly diſadvantageous to your majeſty and
" your kingdom: for, the neceſſity of affairs re-
" quiring that great fleets ſhould be fitted out
" every year, as well for the maintaining a ſu-
" periority in the *Mediterranean*, as for oppo-
" ſing any force which the enemy might pre-
" pare, either at *Dunkirk* or in the ports of *Weſt*
" *France*, your majeſty's example and readineſs in
" fitting out your proportion of ſhips, for all parts
" of that ſervice, have been ſo far from prevailing
" with the States General to keep pace with you,
" that they have been deficient every year to a great
" degree, in proportion to what your majeſty hath
" furniſhed; ſometimes no leſs than two thirds, and
" generally more than half of their quota: from
" hence your majeſty has been obliged, for the
" preventing diſappointments in the moſt preſſing
" ſervice, to ſupply thoſe deficiencies by additional
" reinforcements of your own ſhips; nor hath the
" ſingle increaſe of ſuch a charge been the only ill

" con-

" conſequence that attended it; for by this means " the debt of the navy hath been inhanced, ſo that " the diſcounts ariſing upon the credit of it have " affected all other parts of the ſervice, from the " ſame cauſe. Your majeſty's ſhips of war have " been forced in greater numbers to continue in re- " mote ſeas, and at unſeaſonable times of the year, " to the great damage and decay of the *Britiſh* na- " vy. This alſo hath been the occaſion that your " majeſty hath been ſtreightened in your convoys " for trade; your coaſts have been expoſed, for " want of a ſufficient number of cruiſers to guard " them; and you have been diſabled from annoy- " ing the enemy, in their moſt beneficial commerce " with the *Weſt-Indies*, from whence they received " thoſe vaſt ſupplies of treaſure, without which " they could not have ſupported the expences of this " war.

" That part of the war which hath been carried " on in *Flanders*, was at firſt immediately neceſ- " ſary to the ſecurity of the States General, and " hath ſince brought them great acquiſitions, both " of revenue and dominion; yet even there the " original proportions have been departed from, " and, during the courſe of the war, have been " ſinking by degrees on the part of *Holland*; ſo " that, in this laſt year, we find the number in " which they fell ſhort of their three fifths, to your " majeſty's two fifths, have been twenty thouſand " eight hundred and thirty-ſeven men: we are not " unmindful, that, in the year 1703, a treaty was

" made between the two nations, for a joint aug-
" mentation of twenty thouſand men, wherein the
" proportions were varied, and *England* conſented
" to take half upon itſelf. But, it having been an-
" nexed as an expreſs condition to the grant of
" the ſaid augmentation in parliament, that the
" States General ſhould prohibit all trade and com-
" merce with *France*, and that condition having not
" been performed by them, the commons think it
" reaſonable, that the firſt rule of three to two ought
" to have taken place again, as well in that as in
" other ſubſequent augmentations, more eſpecially
" when they conſider, that the revenues of thoſe
" rich provinces which have been conquered would,
" if they were duly applied, maintain a great num-
" ber of new additional forces againſt the common
" enemy; notwithſtanding which, the States Ge-
" neral have raiſed none upon that account, but
" make uſe of thoſe freſh ſupplies of money, only
" to eaſe themſelves in the charge of their firſt eſta-
" bliſhed quota.

" As in the progreſs of the war in *Flanders*, a
" diſproportion was ſoon created to the prejudice
" of *England*; ſo the very beginning of the war
" in *Portugal* brought an unequal ſhare of burden
" upon us; for although the emperor and the States
" General were equally parties with your majeſty
" in the treaty with the king of *Portugal*, yet the
" emperor neither furniſhing his third part of the
" troops and ſubſidies ſtipulated for, nor the *Dutch*
" conſenting to take an equal ſhare of his imperial
" majeſty's defect upon themſelves, your majeſty
" hath

" hath been obliged to furniſh two thirds of the in-
" tire expence created by that ſervice. Nor has
" the inequality ſtopped there; for ever ſince the
" year 1706, when the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* forces
" marched out of *Portugal* into *Caſtile*, the States
" General have intirely abandoned the war in
" *Portugal*, and left your majeſty to proſecute it
" ſingly at your own charge, which you have ac-
" cordingly done, by re-placing a greater number
" of troops there, than even at firſt you took upon
" you to provide. At the ſame time, your majeſty's
" generous endeavours, for the ſupport and defence
" of the king of *Portugal*, have been but ill ſeconded
" by that prince himſelf; for, notwithſtanding that
" by his treaty he had obliged himſelf to furniſh
" twelve thouſand foot, and three thouſand
" horſe, upon his own account, beſides eleven
" thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe
" more, in conſideration of a ſubſidy paid him;
" yet, according to the beſt information your
" commons can procure, it appears, that he hath
" ſcarce at any time furniſhed thirteen thouſand
" men in the whole.

" In *Spain*, the war hath been yet more unequal,
" and burdenſome to your majeſty, than in any
" other branch of it; for, being commenced without
" any treaty whatſoever, the allies have almoſt
" wholly declined taking any part of it upon them-
" ſelves. A ſmall body of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* troops
" were ſent thither in the year 1705, not as being
" thought ſufficient to ſupport a regular war, or to
" make the conqueſt of ſo large a country; but

" with a view only of assisting the *Spaniards* to set " king *Charles* upon the throne; occasioned by the " great assurances which were given of their in- " clinations to the house of *Austria*: but this ex- " pectation failing, *England* was insensibly drawn " into an established war, under all the disadvanta- " ges of the distance of the place, and the feeble " efforts of the other allies. The account we have " to lay before your majesty, upon this head, is, " that, although the undertaking was entered upon " at the particular and earnest request of the impe- " rial court, and for a cause of no less importance " and concern to them, than the reducing the *Spa- " nish* monarchy to the house of *Austria*; yet nei- " ther the late emperors, nor his present imperial " majesty, have ever had any forces there on their " account, till the last year; and then, only one " regiment of foot, consisting of two thousand men. " Though the States General have contributed " something more to this service, yet their share al- " so hath been inconsiderable; for in the space of " four years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclusive, " all the forces they have sent into that country " have not exceeded twelve thousand two hundred " men; and from the year 1708 to this time, " they have not sent any forces or recruits whatso- " ever. To your majesty's care and charge, the " recovery of that kingdom hath been in a manner " wholly left, as if none else were interested or concern- " ed in it. And the forces which your majesty hath " sent into *Spain*, in the space of seven years, from

" 1705

" 1705 to 1711, both inclusive, have amounted " to no less than fifty-seven thousand nine hundred " seventy-three men, besides thirteen batalions and " eighteen squadrons, for which your majesty " hath paid a subsidy to the emperor.

" How great the established expence of a number " of men hath been, your majesty very well knows, " and your commons very sensibly feel; but the " weight will be found much greater, when it is " considered how many heavy articles of unusual " and extraordinary charge have attended this re- " mote and difficult service, all which have been " entirely defrayed by your majesty, except that " one of transporting the few forces, which were " sent by the States General, and the victualling " of them during their transportation only. The " accounts delivered to your commons shew, that " the charge of your majesty's ships and vessels, em- " ployed in the service of the war in *Spain* and *Por-* " *tugal*, reckoned after the rate of four pounds a man " *per* month, from the time they sailed from hence, " till they returned, were lost, or put upon other " services, hath amounted to six millions five hun- " dred forty thousand nine hundred and sixty-six " pounds, fourteen shillings: the charge of tran- " sports on the part of *Great Britain*, for carrying " on the war in *Spain* and *Portugal*, from the be- " ginning of it till this time, hath amounted to one " million three hundred thirty-six thousand seven " hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings, " and eleven-pence; that of victualling land-for-

" ces for the ſame ſervice, to five hundred eighty-
" three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy pounds,
" eight ſhillings, and ſix-pence; and that of con-
" tingencies, and other extraordinaries for the
" ſame ſervice, to one million eight hundred for-
" ty thouſand three hundred and fifty-three pounds.

" We ſhould take notice to your majeſty of ſe-
" veral ſums paid upon account of contingencies,
" and extraordinaries in *Flanders*, making together
" the ſum of one million one hundred ſeven thou-
" ſand and ninety-ſix pounds: but we are not able
" to make any compariſon of them, with what the
" States General have expended upon the ſame
" head, having no ſuch ſtate of their extraordinary
" charge before us. There remains therefore but
" one particular more for your majeſty's obſervati-
" on, which ariſes from the ſubſidies paid to foreign
" princes. Theſe, at the beginning of the war,
" were borne in equal proportion by your majeſty,
" and the States General; but in this inſtance alſo,
" the balance hath been caſt in prejudice of your
" majeſty: for it appears, that your majeſty hath
" ſince advanced more than your equal proportion,
" three millions one hundred and fifty-five thou-
" ſand crowns, beſides extraordinaries paid in *Italy*,
" and not included in any of the foregoing articles,
" which ariſe to five hundred thirty-nine thouſand
" five hundred and fifty-three pounds.

" We have laid theſe ſeveral particulars before your
" majeſty in the ſhorteſt manner we have been able;
" and by an eſtimate grounded on the preceding
" facts, it does appear, that, over and above the
" quotas

" quotas on the part of *Great Britain*, anſwering " to thoſe contributed by your allies, more than " nineteen millions have been expended by your " majeſty, during the courſe of this war, by way " of ſurpluſage, or exceeding in balance, of " which none of the confederates have furniſhed " any thing whatſoever.

" It is with very great concern, that we find " ſo much occaſion given us, to repreſent how ill " an uſe hath been made of your majeſty's and " your ſubjects zeal for the common cauſe; " that the intereſt of that cauſe hath not been " proportionably promoted by it, but others " only have been eaſed at your majeſty's and " your ſubjects coſt, and have been connived at, " in laying their part of the burthen upon this king- " dom, although they have upon all accounts been " equally, and in moſt reſpects much more nearly, " concerned than *Britain* in the iſſue of the war. " We are perſuaded your majeſty will think it " pardonable in us, with ſome reſentment to com- " plain of the little regard, which ſome of thoſe, " whom your majeſty of late years intruſted, have " ſhewn to the intereſt of their country, in giving " way, at leaſt, to ſuch unreaſonable impoſitions " upon it, if not in ſome meaſure contriving " them. The courſe of which impoſitions hath " been ſo ſingular and extraordinary, that " the more the wealth of this nation hath been " exhauſted, and the more your majeſty's arms " have been attended with ſucceſs, the heavier " hath been the burthen laid upon us; whilſt, on the other hand, the more vigorous your majeſty's

" efforts

" efforts have been, and the greater the advantages " which have redounded thence to your allies, " the more thoſe allies have abated in their ſhare " of the expence.

" At the firſt entrance into this war, the commons " were induced to exert themſelves in the extraor- " dinary manner they did, and to grant ſuch large " ſupplies as had been unknown to former ages, " in hopes thereby to prevent the miſchiefs of a " lingering war, and to bring that, in which they " were neceſſarily engaged, to a ſpeedy concluſi- " on; but they have been very unhappy in the " event, whilſt they have ſo much reaſon to ſuſ- " pect, that what was intended to ſhorten the war, " hath proved the very cauſe of its long continu- " ance; for thoſe, to whom the profits of it have " accrued, have not been diſpoſed eaſily to forego " them. And your majeſty will from thence diſcern " *the true reaſon, why ſo many have delighted in a war,* " *which brought in ſo rich an harveſt yearly from* " Great Britain.

" We are far from deſiring, as we know your " majeſty will be from concluding, any peace, but " upon ſafe and honourable terms; and we are far " from intending to excuſe ourſelves from raiſing " all neceſſary and poſſible ſupplies, for an effectual " proſecution of the war, till ſuch a peace can be " obtained: all that your faithful commons aim " at, all that they wiſh, is an equal concurrence " from the other powers, engaged in alliance with " your majeſty; and a juſt application of what hath

" been

" been already gained from the enemy, towards " promoting the common cauſe. Several large coun- " tries and territories have been reſtored to the " houſe of *Auſtria*, ſuch as the kingdom of *Naples*, " the dutchy of *Milan*, and other places in *Italy*; " others have been conquered, and added to their " dominions, as the two electorates of *Bavaria* and " *Cologn*, the dutchy of *Mantua*, and the biſhop- " rick of *Liege*; theſe, having been reduced in " great meaſure by our blood and treaſure, may, " we humbly conceive, with great reaſon, be " claimed to come in aid towards carrying on the " war in *Spain*. And therefore we make it our " earneſt requeſt to your majeſty, that you will " give inſtructions to your miniſters, to inſiſt with " the emperor, that the revenues of thoſe ſeveral " places, excepting only ſuch a portion thereof as " is neceſſary for their defence, be actually ſo ap- " plied: and as to the other parts of the war, to " which your majeſty hath obliged yourſelf by par- " ticular treaties to contribute, we humbly beſeech " your majeſty, that you will be pleaſed to take ef- " fectual care, that your allies do perform their " parts ſtipulated by thoſe treaties; and that your " majeſty will, for the future, no otherwiſe furniſh " troops, or pay ſubſidies, than in proportion to " what your allies ſhall actually furniſh and pay: " when this juſtice is done to your majeſty, and to " your people, there is nothing which your com- " mons will not chearfully grant, towards ſup- " porting your majeſty in the cauſe in which you

" are

" are engaged. And whatever farther ſhall appear " to be neceſſary for carrying on the war, either at " ſea or land, we will effectually enable your ma- " jeſty to bear your reaſonable ſhare of any ſuch " expence, and will ſpare no ſupplies which your " ſubjects are able, with their utmoſt efforts, to af- " ford.

" After having enquired into, and conſidered " the ſtate of the war, in which the part your " majeſty has borne appears to have been, not " only ſuperior to that of any one ally, but even " equal to that of the whole confederacy; your " commons naturally inclined to hope, that they " ſhould find care had been taken of ſecuring " ſome particular advantages to *Britain*, in the " terms of a future peace; ſuch as might afford a " proſpect of making the nation amends, in time, " for that immenſe treaſure which has been expend- " ed, and thoſe heavy debts which have been con- " tracted, in the courſe of ſo long and burthenſome " a war. This reaſonable expectation could no " way have been better anſwered, than by ſome " proviſion made for the further ſecurity, and the " great improvement, of the commerce of *Great* " *Britain*; but we find ourſelves ſo very far diſap- " pointed in theſe hopes, that, in a treaty not long " ſince concluded between your majeſty and the " States General, under a colour of a mutual " guarantee, given for two points of the greateſt " importance to both nations, the ſucceſſion, and " the barrier; it appears, the intereſt of *Great*

" *Britain* hath been not only neglected, but facri-
" fifed; and that feveral articles in the faid treaty
" are deftructive to the trade and welfare of this
" kingdom, and therefore highly difhonourable to
" your majefty.

" Your commons obferve, in the firft place,
" that feveral towns and places are, by virtue of
" this treaty, to be put into the hands of the States
" General, particularly *Newport*, *Dendermond*,
" and the caftle of *Ghent*, which can in no fenfe
" be looked upon as a part of a barrier againft
" *France*, but, being the keys of the *Netherlands*
" towards *Britain*, muft make the trade of your
" majefty's fubjects in thofe parts precarious, and,
" whenever the States think fit, totally exclude
" them from it. The pretended neceffity of put-
" ting thefe places into the hands of the States Ge-
" neral, in order to fecure to them a communi-
" cation with their barrier, muft appear vain and
" groundlefs; for the fovereignty of the *Low Coun-*
" *tries* being not to remain to an enemy, but to a
" friend and an ally, that communication muft be
" always fecure and uninterrupted; befides that,
" in cafe of a rupture, or an attack, the States
" have full liberty allowed them to take poffeffion
" of all the *Spanifh Netherlands*, and therefore need-
" ed no particular ftipulation for the towns above-
" mentioned.

" Having taken notice of this conceffion made to
" the States General, for feizing upon the whole
" ten provinces; we cannot but obferve to your
" majefty,

" majesty, that, in the manner this article is fram-
" ed, it is another dangerous circumstance which
" attends this treaty; for, had such a provision been
" confined to the case of an apparent attack from
" *France* only, the avowed design of this treaty
" had been fulfilled, and your majesty's instructi-
" ons to your ambassador had been pursued: but
" this necessary restriction hath been omitted, and
" the same liberty is granted to the States, to take
" possession of all the *Netherlands*, whenever they
" shall think themselves attacked by any other neigh-
" bouring nation, as when they shall be in danger
" from *France*; so that, if it should at any time hap-
" pen (which your commons are very unwilling to
" suppose) that they should quarrel, even with your
" majesty, the riches, strength, and advantageous
" situation of these countries, may be made use of
" against yourself, without whose generous and
" powerful assistance they had never been con-
" quered.

" To return to those ill consequences which
" relate to the trade of your kingdoms, we beg
" leave to observe to your majesty, that, though this
" treaty revives, and renders your majesty a party
" to, the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the
" treaty of *Munster*, by virtue of which, the im-
" positions upon all goods and merchandizes
" brought into the *Spanish* Low Countries by the
" sea, are to equal those laid on goods and mer-
" chandizes imported by the *Scheld*, and the ca-
" nals of *Sass*, and *Swynn*, and other mouths of

" the

" the ſea adjoining; yet no care is taken to pre-
" ſerve that equality upon the exportation of thoſe
" goods out of the *Spaniſh* provinces, into thoſe
" countries and places, which, by virtue of this
" treaty, are to be in the poſſeſſion of the States;
" the conſequence of which muſt in time be, and
" your commons are informed that in ſome inſtan-
" ces it has already proved to be the caſe, that the
" impoſitions upon goods carried into thoſe coun-
" tries and places, by the ſubjects of the States Ge-
" neral, will be taken off, while thoſe upon the
" goods imported by your majeſty's ſubjects remain:
" by which means, *Great Britain* will entirely
" loſe this moſt beneficial branch of trade, which it
" has in all ages been poſſeſſed of, even from the
" time when thoſe countries were governed by the
" houſe of *Burgundy*, one of the moſt antient, as
" well as the moſt uſeful allies to the crown of
" *England*.

" With regard to the other dominions and ter-
" ritories of *Spain*, your majeſty's ſubjects have
" always been diſtinguiſhed in their commerce with
" them, and, both by antient treaties and an un-
" interrupted cuſtom, have enjoyed greater pri-
" vileges and immunities of trade, than either the
" *Hollanders*, or any other nation whatſoever.
" And that wiſe and excellent treaty of the Grand Al-
" liance provides effectually for the ſecurity and con-
" tinuance of theſe valuable privileges to *Britain*, in
" ſuch a manner, as that each nation might be left, at

" the end of the war, upon the ſame foot as it " ſtood at the commencement of it : but this treaty " we now complain of, inſtead of confirming your " ſubjects rights, ſurrenders and deſtroys them ; " for, although by the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth " articles of the treaty of *Munſter*, made between " his Catholic majeſty and the States General, " all advantages of trade are ſtipulated for, and " granted to the *Hollanders*, equal to what the " *Engliſh* enjoyed ; yet, the crown of *England* not " being a party to that treaty, the ſubjects of *Eng-* " *land* have never ſubmitted to thoſe articles of it, " nor even the *Spaniards* themſelves ever obſerved " them ; but this treaty revives thoſe articles in " prejudice of *Great Britain*, and makes your " majeſty a party to them, and even a guarantee " to the States General, for privileges againſt your " own people.

" In how deliberate and extraordinary a manner " your majeſty's ambaſſador conſented to deprive " your ſubjects of their ancient rights, and your " majeſty of the power of procuring to them any " new advantage, moſt evidently appears from his " own letters, which, by your majeſty's directions, " have been laid before your commons : for when " matters of advantage to your majeſty, and to " your kingdom, had been offered, as proper to " be made parts of this treaty, they were refuſed " to be admitted by the States General, upon this " reaſon and principle, that nothing foreign to the " guaranties of the ſucceſſion, and of the barrier,

" ſhould

" ſhould be mingled with them; notwithſtanding " which, the States General had no ſooner receiv- " ved notice of a treaty of commerce concluded be- " tween your majeſty and the preſent emperor, but " they departed from the rule propoſed before, and " inſiſted upon the article, of which your commons " now complain; which article your majeſty's " ambaſſador allowed of, although equally foreign " to the ſucceſſion, or the barrier; and although " he had for that reaſon departed from other arti- " cles, which would have been for the ſervice of " his own country.

" We have forborne to trouble your majeſty " with general obſervations upon this treaty, as " it relates to and affects the empire, and other " parts of *Europe*. The miſchiefs which ariſe " from it to *Great Britain*, are what only we have " preſumed humbly to repreſent to you, as they " are very evident, and very great: and as it ap- " pears, that the lord viſcount *Townſend* had not " any orders, or authority, for concluding ſeveral " of thoſe articles, which are moſt prejudicial to " your majeſty's ſubjects; we have thought we " could do no leſs than declare your ſaid ambaſſa- " dor, who negociated and ſigned, and all others " who adviſed the ratifying of this treaty, enemies " to your majeſty and your kingdom.

" Upon theſe faithful informations, and advices " from your commons, we aſſure ourſelves, your " majeſty, in your great goodneſs to your people, " will reſcue them from thoſe evils, which the pri-

" vate councils of ill-designing men have exposed " them to; and that, in your great wisdom, you " will find some means for the explaining and " amending the several articles of this treaty, so " as that they may consist with the interest of *Great* " *Britain*, and with real and lasting friendship be- " tween your majesty and the States General."

Between the representation and the first debates upon the subject of it, several weeks had passed; during which time the parliament had other matters likewise before them, that deserve to be mentioned. For on the 9th of *February* was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign protestants, which had been passed under the last ministry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purposes. By this act, any foreigner, who would take the oaths to the government, and profess himself a protestant, of whatever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an *English*-born subject, at the expence of a shilling. Most protestants abroad differ from us in the points of church-government; so that all the acquisitions by this act would increase the number of dissenters; and therefore the proposal, that such foreigners should be obliged to conform to the established worship, was rejected. But, because several persons were fond of this project, as a thing that would be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, I shall say a few words upon it.

The maxim, " That people are the riches of a " nation," hath been crudely understood by many writers

writers and reaſoners upon that ſubject. There are ſeveral ways by which people are brought into a country. Sometimes a nation is invaded and ſubdued; and the conquerors ſeize the lands, and make the natives their under-tenants or ſervants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or deſtroyed, or the land uncultivated and waſte. In thoſe countries where the lord of the ſoil is maſter of the labour and liberty of his tenants, or of ſlaves bought by his money, men's riches are reckoned by the number of their vaſſals. And ſometimes, in governments newly inſtituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from the neighbouring countries. And, in all theſe caſes, the new comers have either lands allotted them, or are ſlaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpleſs families, by thouſands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they ſhould be part of the property as ſervants, is a wrong application of the maxim, and the ſame thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burthen and charge to the pariſh. The true way of multiplying mankind to public advantage, in ſuch a country as *England*, is to invite from abroad only able handicraftſmen and artificers, or ſuch who bring over a ſufficient ſhare of property to ſecure them from want; to enact and enforce ſumptuary laws againſt luxury, and all exceſſes in cloathing,

furniture, and the like; to encourage matrimony, and reward, as the *Romans* did, thoſe who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the *Palatines* were a mere conſequence of this law for a general naturalization; or whether, as many ſurmiſed, it had ſome other meaning, it appeared manifeſtly, by the iſſue, that the publick was a loſer by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by ſuch an importation, than a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unſightly and troubleſome, at beſt, and intercepts that nouriſhment, which would otherwiſe diffuſe itſelf through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the commons ſent up a bill for ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that houſe who ſhould be allowed to poſſeſs employments under the crown. Bills to the ſame effect, promoted by both parties, had, after making the like progreſs, been rejected in former parliaments; the court and miniſtry, who will ever be againſt ſuch a law, having uſually a greater influence in the houſe of lords, and ſo it happened now. Although that influence were leſs, I am apt to think that ſuch a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have ſo many corruptions in the reſt; and perhaps the regulations, already made on that article, are ſufficient, by which ſeveral employments incapacitate a man from being choſen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For

For my own part, when I conſider the temper of particular perſons, and by what maxims they have acted (almoſt without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how ſuch a bill ſhould obtain a majority, unleſs every man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the ſame time, likewiſe, the houſe of commons advanced one conſiderable ſtep towards ſecuring us againſt farther impoſitions from our allies, reſolving that the additional forces ſhould be continued; but with a condition, that the *Dutch* ſhould make good their proportion of three fifths to two fifths, which thoſe confederates had ſo long, and in ſo great degree, neglected. The duke of *Marlborough's* deduction of two and a half *per cent.* from the pay of the foreign troops, was alſo applied for carrying on the war.

Laſtly, within this period is to be included the act paſſed to prevent the diſturbing thoſe of the epiſcopal communion in *Scotland* in the exerciſe of their religious worſhip, and in the uſe of the Liturgy of the church of *England*. It is known enough, that the moſt conſiderable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical diſcipline of thoſe ſynods and preſbyteries; and at the ſame time have the utmoſt contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was beſides thought an inequality, beyond all appearance of reaſon or juſtice, that diſſenters of every demonation here, who are

the meaneſt and moſt illiterate part amongſt us, ſhould poſſeſs a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occaſion, be bold enough to inſult the religion eſtabliſhed, while thoſe of the epiſcopal church in *Scotland* groaned under a real perſecution. The only ſpecious objection againſt this bill was, that it ſet the religion by law, in both parts of the iſland, upon a different foot, directly contrary to the Union; becauſe, by an act paſſed this very ſeſſion againſt occaſional conformity, our diſſenters were ſhut out from all employments. A petition from *Carſtairs*, and other *Scotch* profeſſors, againſt this bill, was offered to the houſe, but not accepted; and a motion made by the other party, to receive a clauſe that ſhould reſtrain all perſons, who have any office in *Scotland*, from going to epiſcopal meetings, paſſed in the negative. It is manifeſt, that the promoters of this clauſe were not moved by any regard for *Scotland*, which is by no means their favourite at preſent; only they hoped, that, if it were made part of a law, it might occaſion ſuch a choice of repreſentatives in both houſes, from *Scotland*, as would be a conſiderable ſtrength to their faction here. But the propoſition was in itſelf extremely abſurd, that ſo many lords, and other perſons of diſtinction, who have great employments, penſions, poſts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or conſtant attendance at the court, and utterly diſlike their national way of worſhip, ſhould be deprived of their liberty of conſcience at home;

home; not to mention thoſe who are ſent thither from hence to take care of the revenue, and other affairs, who would ill digeſt the changing of their religion for that of *Scotland*.

With a farther view of favour towards the epiſcopal clergy of *Scotland*, three members of that country were directed to bring in a bill for reſtoring the patrons to their antient rights of preſenting miniſters to the vacant churches there, which the kirk, during the height of their power, had obtained for themſelves. And, to conclude this ſubject at once, the queen, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, commanded Mr. ſecretary *St. John* to acquaint the houſe, "That, purſuant to their addreſs, the profits ariſing from the biſhops eſtates in *Scotland*, "which remained in the crown, ſhould be applied "to the ſupport of ſuch of the epiſcopal clergy "there, as would take the oaths to her majeſty."

Nothing could more amply juſtify the proceedings of the queen and her miniſters, for two years paſt, than that famous repreſentation above at large recited; the unbiaſſed wiſdom of the nation, after the ſtricteſt inquiry, confirming thoſe facts upon which her majeſty's counſels were grounded: and many perſons, who were before inclined to believe that the allies and the late miniſtry had been too much loaded by the malice, miſrepreſentations, or ignorance of writers, were now fully convinced of their miſtake by ſo great an authority. Upon this occaſion I cannot forbear doing juſtice to Mr. *St. John*, who had been ſecretary of war, for

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ſeveral years, under the former adminiſtration, where he had the advantage of obſerving how affairs were managed both at home and abroad. He was one of thoſe who ſhared in the preſent treaſurer's fortune, reſigning up his employment at the ſame time; and upon that miniſter's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was ſome time after made ſecretary of ſtate. There he began afreſh, by the opportunities of his ſtation, to look into paſt miſcarriages; and, by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to public affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the ſcene of miſcarriages and corruptions, through the whole courſe of the war, in ſo evident a manner, that the houſe of commons ſeemed principally directed in their reſolutions, upon this inquiry, by his information and advice. In a ſhort time after the repreſentation was publiſhed, there appeared a memorial in the *Dutch* Gazette, as by order of the States, reflecting very much upon the ſaid repreſentation, as well as the reſolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny ſome of the facts, and to extenuate others. This memorial, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, a common writer of news had the boldneſs to inſert in one of his papers. A complaint being made thereof to the houſe of commons, they voted the pretended memorial to be a falſe, ſcandalous, malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into cuſtody.

It was the misfortune of the miniſters, that, while they were baited by their profeſſed adverſaries

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of the diſcontented faction, acting in conſederacy with emiſſaries of foreign powers, to break the meaſures her majeſty had taken towards a peace, they met at the ſame time with frequent difficulties from thoſe who agreed and engaged with them to purſue the ſame general end; but ſometimes diſapproved the methods as too ſlack and remiſs, or in appearance now and then, perhaps, a little dubious. In the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, a conſiderable number of gentlemen, all members of the houſe of commons, began to meet by themſelves, and conſult what courſe they ought to ſteer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country-party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppoſe the court in any proceedings they diſliked. The whole body was of ſuch who profeſs what is commonly called High-church principles, upon which account they were irreconcileable enemies to the late miniſtry and all its adherents. On the other ſide, conſidering the temper of the new men in power, that they were perſons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, thoſe gentlemen, who were impatient for an intire change, and to ſee all their adverſaries laid at once as low as the duſt, began to be apprehenſive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the leaſt precipitation, although the queen and her firſt miniſter had been diſpoſed to it, which certainly they were not. Neither did the court ſeem

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at all uneasy at this league, formed in appearance against it, but composed of honest gentlemen, who wished well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means; or, if such a society should begin to grow restly, nothing was easier than to divide them, and render all their endeavours ineffectual.

But, in the course of that first session, many of this society became gradually reconciled to the new ministry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themselves; and the attempt of *Guiscard*, as it gained farther time for the deferring the disposal of employments, so it much endeared that person to the kingdom, who was so near falling a sacrifice to the safety of his country. Upon the last session of which I am now writing, this *October* club (as it was called) renewed their usual meetings, but were now very much altered from their original institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the design, as of no further use. They saw a point carried in the house of lords against the court, that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they observed the enemy's whole artillery directly levelled at the treasurer's head. In short, the majority of the club had so good an understanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter, to shew to the world how fair a correspondence there was between the court and country-party, consented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourse had an event very different from what was expected: for

immediately the more zealous members of that ſociety broke off from the reſt, and compoſed a new one, made up of gentlemen, who ſeemed to expect little of the court; and perhaps, with a mixture of others who thought themſelves diſappointed, or too long delayed. Many of theſe were obſerved to retain an incurable jealouſy of the treaſurer, and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reſerve of favour in this miniſter to the perſons and principles of the abandoned party.

Upon an occaſion offered about this time, ſome perſons, out of diſtruſt to the treaſurer, endeavoured to obtain a point, which could not have been carried without putting all into confuſion. A bill was brought into the houſe of commons, appointing commiſſioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other intereſts, granted by the crown ſince the 13th day of *February*, 1688, and upon what conſiderations ſuch grants had been made. The united country-intereſt in the houſe was extremely ſet upon paſſing this bill. They had conceived an opinion, from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppoſe all ſteps towards a reſumption of grants; and thoſe who were apprehenſive that the treaſurer inclined the ſame way, propoſed the bill ſhould be tacked to another, for raiſing a fund by duties upon ſoap and paper, which hath been always imputed, whether juſtly or no, as a favourite expedient of thoſe called the tory party. At the ſame time it was very well known, that the houſe

houſe of lords had made a fixed and unanimous reſolution againſt giving their concurrence to the paſſing ſuch united bills: ſo that the conſequences of this project muſt have been to bring the miniſtry under difficulties, to ſtop the neceſſary ſupplies, and endanger the good correſpondence between both houſes; notwithſtanding all which, the majority carried it for a tack; and the committee was inſtructed accordingly to make the two bills into one, whereby the worſt that could happen would have followed, if the treaſurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reaſons, that the means they were uſing would certainly diſappoint the end; that neither himſelf, nor any other of the queen's ſervants, were at all againſt this enquiry; and he promiſed his utmoſt credit to help forward the bill in the houſe of lords. He prevailed at laſt to to have it ſent up ſingle; but their lordſhips gave it another kind of reception. Thoſe who were of the ſide oppoſite to the court, withſtood it to a man, as in a party-caſe: among the reſt, ſome very perſonally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they ſuppoſed a ſufficient excuſe to be abſent, or diſſent. Even thoſe, whoſe grants were antecedent to this intended inſpection, began to be alarmed, as men whoſe neighbours houſes are on fire. A ſhew of zeal for the late king's honour occaſioned many reflexions upon the date of this enquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the earl of *Nottingham*, who had now flung away the maſk which he had lately

lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance againſt the queen and her friends, acted conſiſtently enough with his deſign, by voting as a lord againſt the bill, after he had directed his ſon in the houſe of commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miſcarried this popular bill for appointing commiſſioners to examine into royal grants; but whether thoſe chiefly concerned did rightly conſult their own intereſt, hath been made a queſtion, which perhaps time will reſolve. It was agreed that the queen, by her own authority, might have iſſued out a commiſſion for ſuch an enquiry, and every body believed, that the intention of the parliament was only to tax the grants with about three years purchaſe, and at the ſame time eſtabliſh the proprietors in poſſeſſion of the remainder for ever; ſo that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by ſuch an act, ſince the titles of thoſe lands, as they ſtood then, were hardly of half value with others either for ſale or ſettlement. Beſides, the examples of the *Iriſh* forfeitures might have taught theſe precarious owners, that, when the houſe of commons hath once engaged in a purſuit, which they think is right, although it be ſtopped or ſuſpended for a while, they will be ſure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and ſeldom fail of ſucceſs: for inſtance, if the reſumption ſhould happen to be made part of a ſupply, which can be eaſily done without the objection of a tack, the grantees might poſſibly then have

much harder conditions given them ; and I do not ſee how they could prevent it. Whether the reſuming of royal grants be conſiſtent with good policy or juſtice, would be too long a diſquiſition : beſides, the profuſion of kings is not like to be a grievance for the future, becauſe there have been laws ſince made to provide againſt that evil, or, indeed, rather becauſe the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made againſt the date of the intended enquiry was inviduous and trifling ; for king *James* II. made very few grants : he was a better manager, and ſquandering was none of his faults ; whereas the late king, who came over here a perfect ſtranger to our laws, and to our people, regardleſs of poſterity, wherein he was not likely to ſurvive, thought he could no way better ſtrengthen a new title, than by purchaſing friends at the expence of every thing which was in his power to part with.

The reaſonableneſs of uniting to a money-bill one of a different nature, which is uſually called *tacking*, hath been likewiſe much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In antient times, when a parliament was held, the commons firſt propoſed their grievances to be redreſſed, and then gave their aids ; ſo that it was a perfect bargain between the king and the ſubject. This fully anſwered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occaſions which would hardly paſs at preſent ; ſuch, for inſtance, as thoſe for making the king's ſon a knight, marrying his eldeſt daughter,

ter, and ſome others of the like ſort. Moſt of the money went into the king's coffers for his private uſe; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence aroſe the form of the king's thanking his ſubjects for their benevolence, when any ſubſidies, tenths, or fifteenths, were given him: but the ſupplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, becauſe they are all appropriated to their ſeveral uſes: ſo that when the houſe of commons tack to a money-bill what is foreign and hard to be digeſted, if it be not paſſed, they put themſelves and their country in as great difficulties as the prince. On the other ſide, there have been ſeveral regulations made, through the courſe of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected ſhall not be brought up again the ſame ſeſſion; whereby the commons ſeem to have loſt the advantage of purchaſing a redreſs of their grievances, by granting ſupplies, which, upon ſome emergencies, hath put them upon this expedient of tacking: ſo that there is more to be ſaid on each ſide of the caſe, than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myſelf in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this ſeſſion, we may juſtly number the proceedings of the houſe of commons with relation to the preſs, ſince her majeſty's meſſage to the houſe, of *January* the ſeventeenth, concludes with a paragraph, repre-

ſenting the great licences taken in publiſhing falſe and ſcandalous libels, ſuch as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the miſchief. The meaning of theſe words in the meſſage ſeems to be confined to thoſe weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the perſons and the management of the miniſtry. But the houſe of commons, in their addreſs, which anſwers this meſſage, makes an addition of the blaſphemies againſt God and religion; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the honour of the legiſlature, than ſome effectual law for putting a ſtop to this univerſal miſchief: but as the perſon [*m*], who adviſed the queen in that part of her meſſage, had only then in his thoughts the redreſſing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the houſe, to have propoſed ſome ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing ſingle papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreſeen by many perſons, and hath ſince been found true by experience. For the adverſe party, full of rage and leiſure ſince their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cauſe, employ a ſett of writers by ſubſcription, who are well verſed in all the topicks of defamation, and have a ſtyle and genius levelled to the generality of readers; while thoſe who would draw their pens on the ſide of their prince and coun-

[*m*] Mr. ſecretary *St. John*, afterwards lord viſcount *Bolingbroke*.

try are discouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinsic value both of the materials and the work; a thing, if I be not mistaken, without example.

It must be acknowledged, that the bad practices of printers have been such, as to deserve the severest animadversions of the publick; and it is to be wished, the party-quarrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth: but in the mean time, to open the mouths of our enemies and shut our own, is a turn of politicks that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps the ministry now in possession, because they are in possession, may despise such trifles as this; and it is not to be denied, that, acting as they do upon a national interest, they may seem to stand in less need of such supports, or may safely fling them down as no longer necessary. But if the leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very short duration: and had not some active pens fallen in to improve the good dispositions of the people upon the late change, and continued since to overthrow the falsehood, plentifully, and sometimes not unplausibly, scattered by the adversaries, I am very much in doubt, whether those at the helm would now have reason to be pleased with their success. A particular person may, with more safety, despise the opinion of the vulgar, because it does a wise man no real harm or good, but the administration a great deal; and whatever side has the sole manegement of the pen, will soon find hands enough to write down their enemies as low as they

pleaſe. If the people had no other idea of thoſe whom her majeſty truſts in her greateſt affairs, than what is conveyed by the paſſions of ſuch as would compaſs ſea and land for their deſtruction, what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How neceſſary therefore was it, that the world ſhould, from time to time, be undeceived by true repreſentations of perſons and facts, which have kept the kingdom ſteady to its intereſt, againſt all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction!

However, the miſchiefs of the preſs were too exorbitant to be cured, by ſuch a remedy as a tax upon the ſmaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it was brought into the houſe of commons, but ſo late in the ſeſſion, that there was no time to paſs it: for there hath hitherto always appeared an unwillingneſs to cramp overmuch the liberty of the preſs, whether from the inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much, or too little; or whether the benefit propoſed by each party to themſelves, from the ſervice of their writers towards recovering or preſerving of power, be thought to outweigh the diſadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the houſe till the eighth of *June*. It was committed three days, and then heard of no more. In this bill there was a clauſe inſerted (whether induſtriouſly with deſign to overthrow it) that the author's name, and place of abode, ſhould be ſet to every

every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; which I believe no man, who hath the leaſt regard to learning, would give his conſent to: for, beſides the objection to this clauſe from the practice of pious men, who, in publiſhing excellent writings for the ſervice of religion, have choſen, out of an humble Chriſtian ſpirit, to conceal their names; it is certain, that all perſons of true genius or knowledge have an invincible modeſty and ſuſpicion of themſelves, upon their firſt ſending their thoughts into the world; and that thoſe who are dull or ſuperficial, void of all taſte and judgment, have diſpoſitions directly contrary: ſo that, if this clauſe had made part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future, either in wit or learning: and that inſufferable race of ſtupid people, who are now every day loading the preſs, would then reign alone, in time deſtroy our very firſt principles of reaſon, and introduce barbarity amongſt us, which is already kept out with ſo much difficulty by ſo few hands.

Having given an account of the ſeveral ſteps made towards a peace, from the firſt overtures begun by *France*, to the commencement of the ſecond ſeſſion, I ſhall in the fourth book relate the particulars of this great negociation, from the period laſt-mentioned to the preſent time; and becauſe there happened ſome paſſages in both houſes, occaſioned by the treaty, I ſhall take notice of them under

that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another nature, which the lords and commons took into their cognizance, after a very different manner, wherewith I shall close this part of my subject.

The sect of Quakers amongst us, whose system of religion, first founded upon enthusiasm, hath been many years growing into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all*; but, being a body of people wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themselves on many occasions deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting at elections, by a foolish scruple, which their obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, these people had credit enough in the late reign to have an act passed, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form. The great concern in those times, was to lay all religion upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, that no man ought to be denied the liberty of serving his country upon account of a different belief in speculative opinions, under which term some people were apt to include every doctrine of Christianity: however, this act, in favour of the Quakers, was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant dependance, and expired of course after a certain term, if it were not continued.

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Thoſe people had, therefore, very early in the ſeſſion, offered a petition to the houſe of commons for a continuance of the act, which was not ſuffered to be brought up; upon this they applied themſelves to the lords, who paſſed a bill accordingly, and ſent it down to the commons, where it was not ſo much as allowed a firſt reading.

And indeed it is not eaſy to conceive upon what motives the legiſlature of ſo great a kingdom could deſcend ſo low, as to be miniſterial and ſubſervient to the caprices of the moſt abſurd hereſy that ever appeared in the world; and this in a point, where thoſe deluding or deluded people ſtand ſingular from all the reſt of mankind who live under civil government: but the deſigns of an aſpiring party, at that time, were not otherwiſe to be compaſſed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the Church; and I am fully convinced, that if a ſect of ſceptic philoſophers (who profeſs to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their tenets with ſome corruptions of Chriſtianity, they might have obtained the ſame priviledge; and that a law would have been enacted, whereby the ſolemn doubt of the people called Scepticks ſhould have been accepted, inſtead of an oath in the uſual form; ſo abſurd are all maxims formed upon the inconſiſtent principles of faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the ſtandard of truth and reaſon!

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK IV.

WE left the plenipotentiaries of the allies, and thoſe of the enemy, preparing to aſſemble at *Utrecht* on the firſt of *January*, N. S. in order to form a congreſs for negotiating a general peace; wherein although the *Dutch* had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the queen, yet they ſet all their inſtruments at work to inflame both houſes againſt her majeſty's meaſures. Monſ. *Bothmar*, the *Hanover* envoy, took care to print and diſperſe his memorial, of which I have formerly ſpoken: *Hoffman*, the emperor's reſident, was ſoliciting for a yatcht and convoys to bring over prince *Eugene* at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great propoſals from the imperial court: the earl of *Nottingham* became a convert, for reaſons already mentioned: money was diſtributed

buted where occaſion required; and the dukes of *Somerſet* and *Marlborough*, together with the earl of *Godolphin*, had put themſelves at the head of the Junto and their adherents, in order to attack the court.

Some days after the vote paſſed the houſe of lords for admitting into the addreſs the earl of *Nottingham's* clauſe, againſt any peace without *Spain*, Monſ. *Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, who had been deep in all the conſultations with the diſcontented party for carrying that point, was deſired to meet with the lord privy-ſeal, the earl of *Dartmouth*, and Mr. ſecretary *St. John*, in order to ſign a treaty between the queen and the States, to ſubſiſt after a peace. There the envoy took occaſion to expoſtulate upon the advantages ſtipulated for *Britain* with *France*; ſaid "it was his opinion, that thoſe miniſters "ought, in reſpect of the friendſhip between both "nations, to acquaint him what theſe advantages "were; and that he looked upon his country to "be intitled, by treaty, to ſhare them equally with "us: That there was now another reaſon why "we ſhould be more diſpoſed to comply with him "upon this head; for, ſince the late reſolution of "the houſe of lords, he took it for granted, it "would be a dangerous ſtep in us to give *Spain* to "a prince of the houſe of *Bourbon*; and therefore, "that we ſhould do well to induce the States, by "ſuch a conceſſion, to help us out of this diffi-"culty."

Mr.

Mr. *St. John* made anſwer, "That there was "not a man in the queen's council capable of ſo "baſe a thought: That, if *Buys* had any thing to "complain of, which was injurious to *Holland*, or "juſtly tending to hurt the good correſpondence "between us and the States, he was confident her "majeſty would at all times be ready to give it "up; but that the miniſters ſcorned to ſcreen "themſelves at the expence of their country: "That the reſolution *Buys* mentioned, was "chiefly owing to foreign miniſters intermed-"dling in our affairs, and would perhaps have "an effect the projectors did not foreſee: "That, if the peace became impracticable, "the houſe of commons would certainly put the "war upon another foot, and reduce the public "expence within ſuch a compaſs as our treaties "required in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and as our preſent "condition would admit, leaving the partiſans for "war to ſupply the reſt."

Although the ſecretary believed this anſwer would put an end to ſuch infamous propoſals, it fell out otherwiſe; for, ſhortly after, Monſ. *Buys* applied himſelf to the treaſurer, promiſing to undertake, "That his maſters ſhould give up the "article of *Spain*, provided they might ſhare with "us in the Aſſiento for Negroes." To which the treaſurer's anſwer was ſhort, "That he would "rather loſe his head than conſent to ſuch an "offer."

It

It is manifeſt, by this proceeding, that, whatever ſchemes were forming here at home, in this juncture, by the enemies to the peace, the *Dutch* only deſigned to fall in with it as far as it would anſwer their own account; and, by a ſtrain of the lower politicks, wherein they muſt be allowed to excell every country in Chriſtendom, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking advantage of the diſtreſs they themſelves had brought upon their neareſt neighbour and ally.

But the queen highly reſented this indignity from a republick, upon whom ſhe had conferred ſo many obligations. She could not endure that the *Dutch* ſhould employ their inſtruments to act in confederacy with a cabal of factious people, who were prepared to ſacrifiſe the ſafety of their prince and country to the recovery of that power they had ſo long poſſeſſed and abuſed. Her majeſty knew very well, that, whatever were the miſtaken or affected opinion of ſome people at home, upon the article of *Spain*, it was a point the States had long given up, who had very openly told our miniſtry, "That the war in that country was only our con-"cern, and what their republick had nothing to do "with." It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced, that the recovery of *Spain* was impracticable; but many things may be excuſed in a profeſſed adverſary, fallen under a diſgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally, upon whom we are that very inſtant conferring new favours. Her majeſty therefore thought it high time to exert herſelf,

and at length put a ſtop to foreign influence upon *Britiſh* counſels; ſo that, after the earl of *Nottingham's* clauſe againſt any peace without *Spain* was carried in the houſe of lords, directions were immediately ſent to the earl of *Strafford* at the *Hague*, to inform the *Dutch*, "That it was obtained by a trick, and would conſequently turn to the diſappointment and confuſion of the contrivers and the actors." He was likewiſe inſtructed to be very dry and reſerved to the penſionary and *Dutch* miniſters; to let them know, "the queen thought herſelf ill treated; and that they would ſoon hear what effects thoſe meaſures would have upon a mild and good temper, wrought up to reſentment by repeated provocations: That the States might have the war continued, if they pleaſed; but that the queen would not be forced to to carry it on after their manner, nor would ſuffer them to make her peace, or to ſettle the intereſts of her kingdoms."

To others in *Holland*, who appeared to be more moderate, the earl was directed to ſay, "That the States were upon a wrong ſcent: That their miniſter here miſtook every thing that we had promiſed: That we would perform all they could reaſonably aſk from us, in relation to their barrier and their trade; and that Monſ. *Buys* dealt very unfairly, if he had not told them as much. But that *Britain* proceeded, in ſome reſpects, upon a new ſcheme of politicks; would no longer ſtruggle for impoſſibilities, nor be amuſed by words:

" words : That our people came more and more " to their ſenſes ; and that the ſingle diſpute now " was, whether the *Dutch* would join with a facti- " on againſt the queen, or with the nation for " her? "

The court likewiſe reſolved to diſcourage prince *Eugene* from his journey to *England*, which he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have ſpoken before. He was told, " That the queen " wanted no exhortations to carry on the war ; " but the project of it ſhould be agreed abroad, " upon which her majeſty's reſolutions might ſoon " be ſignified : but, until ſhe ſaw what the empe- " ror and allies were ready to do, ſhe would nei- " ther promiſe nor engage for any thing." At the ſame time, Mr. *St. John* told *Hoffman*, the emperor's reſident here, " That, if the prince had " a mind to divert himſelf in *London*, the miniſters " would do their part to entertain him, and be ſure " to trouble him with no manner of buſineſs."

This coldneſs retarded the prince's journey for ſome days ; but did not prevent it, although he had a ſecond meſſage by the queen's order, with this farther addition, " That his name had lately " been made uſe of, on many occaſions, to create " ferment, and ſtir up ſedition ; and that her ma- " jeſty judged it would be neither ſafe for him, nor " convenient for her, that he ſhould come over " at this time." But all would not do : it was enough that the queen did not abſolutely forbid him, and the party-confederates, both foreign and do-

meſtic,

meſtic, thought his preſence would be highly neceſſary for their ſervice.

Towards the end of *December*, the lord privy-ſeal [*n*] ſet out for *Holland*. He was ordered to ſtop at the *Hague*, and, in conjunction with the earl of *Strafford*, to declare to the States, in her majeſty's name, "her reſolutions to conclude no "peace, wherein the allies in general, and each "confederate in particular, might not find their "ample ſecurity and their reaſonable ſatisfaction: "That ſhe was ready to inſiſt upon their barrier, "and advantages in their trade, in the manner the "States themſelves ſhould deſire; and to concert "with them ſuch a plan of treaty, as both powers "might be under mutual engagements never to re-"cede from: That nothing could be of greater "importance, than for the miniſters of *Great Britain* "and *Holland* to enter the congreſs under the "ſtricteſt ties of confidence, and intirely to con-"cur throughout the courſe of theſe negociations. "To which purpoſe, it was her majeſty's plea-"ſure, that their lordſhips ſhould adjuſt with the "*Dutch* miniſters, the beſt manner and method "for opening and carrying on the conferences, and "declare themſelves inſtructed to communicate "freely their thoughts and meaſures to the pleni-"potentiaries of the States, who, they hoped, "had received the ſame inſtructions."

[*n*] Dr. *Robinſon*, biſhop of *Briſtol*.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, the two lords were to ſignify to the penſionary, and the other miniſters, "That her majeſty's preparations for the next campaign were "carried on with all the diſpatch and vigour the "preſent circumſtances would allow; and to in-"ſiſt, that the ſame might be done by the States; "and that both powers ſhould join in preſſing the "emperor, and other allies, to make greater efforts "than they had hitherto done; without which "the war muſt languiſh, and the terms of peace "become every day more diſadvantageous."

The two *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries went to *Utrecht* with very large inſtructions, and, after the uſual manner, were to make much higher demands from *France* (at leaſt in behalf of the allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The ſum of what they had in charge, beſides matter of form, was, to concert with the miniſters of the ſeveral powers engaged againſt *France*, "That all differences ariſing "among them ſhould be accommodated between "themſelves, without ſuffering the *French* to in-"terfere: That whatever were propoſed to *France* "by a miniſter of the alliance, ſhould be backed "by the whole confederacy: That a time might "be fixed for the concluſion, as there had been "for the commencement, of the treaty." *Spain* was to be demanded out of the hands of the *Bourbon* family, as the moſt effectual means for preventing the union of that kingdom with *France*; and whatever conditions the allies could agree upon for hindering

hindering that union, their lordſhips were peremptorily to inſiſt on.

As the intereſts of each ally in particular, the plenipotentiaries of *Britain* were to demand "*Straſburgh*, the fort of *Kehl*, with its independencies, "and the town of *Briſac*, with its territory, for "the emperor: That *France* ſhould poſſeſs *Alſatia*, "according to the treaty of *Weſtphalia*, with the "right of the prefecture only over the ten impe-"rial cities in that country: That the fortificati-"ons of the ſaid ten cities be put into the condi-"tion they were in at the time of the ſaid treaty, "except *Landau*, which was to be demanded for "the emperor and empire, with liberty of demo-"liſhing the fortifications: That the *French* king "ſhould, at a certain time, and at his own ex-"pence, demoliſh the fortreſſes of *Hunningen*, *New* "*Briſac*, and Fort *Lewis*, never to be rebuilt.

"That the town and fortreſs of *Rhinfelt* ſhould "be demanded for the landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, "until that matter be otherwiſe ſettled.

"That the clauſe relating to religion, in the "fourth article of the treaty of *Ryſwick*, and con-"trary to that of *Weſtphalia*, ſhould be annulled, "and the ſtate of religion in *Germany* reſtored to "the tenour of the treaty of *Weſtphalia*.

"That *France* ſhould acknowledge the king of "*Pruſſia*, and give him no diſturbance in *Neuf-*"*chatel* and *Valengin*: That the principality of "*Orange*, and other eſtates belonging to the late

" king *William*, ſhould be reſtored, as law ſhould " direct.

" That the duke of *Hanover* ſhould be acknow- " ledged elector.

" That the king of *Portugal* ſhould enjoy all " the advantages ſtipulated between him and the " allies.

" That the States ſhould have for their barrier " *Furnes*, Fort *Knock*, *Menin*, *Ipres*, *Liſle*, *Tour-* " *nay*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, *Maubeuge*, *Douay*, " *Bethune Avie*, *St. Venant*, and *Bouchain*, with " their cannon, *&c.* That the *French* king ſhould " reſtore all the places belonging to *Spain*, now " or during this war in his poſſeſſion, in the *Nether-* " *lands:* That ſuch part of them as ſhould be " thought fit, might be allowed likewiſe for a bar- " rier to the States: That *France* ſhould grant " the tariff of 1664 to the States, and exemption " of fifty pence *per* tun upon *Dutch* goods trading " to that kingdom.

" But that theſe articles in favour of the States " ſhould not be concluded, till the Barrier-treaty " were explained to the queen's ſatisfaction.

" That the duke of *Savoy* ſhould be put in poſ- " ſeſſion of all taken from him in this war, and " enjoy the places yielded to him by the emperor, " and other allies: That *France* ſhould likewiſe " yield to him *Exilles*, *Feneſtrelles*, *Chaumont*, the " valley of *Pregata*, and the land lying between " *Piedmount* and Mount *Genu*.

" That

" That the article about demoliſhing of *Dunkirk* " ſhould be explained."

" As to *Britain*, the plenipotentiaries were to " inſert that *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*, *Ghent*, and " all places which appear to be a barrier rather " againſt *England* than *France*, ſhould either " not be given to the *Dutch*, or at leaſt in ſuch a " manner, as not to hinder the queen's ſubjects " free paſſage to and from the *Low Countries*.

" That the ſeventh article of the Barrier-treaty, " which impowers the States, in caſe of an attack, " to put troops at diſcretion in all the places of the " *Low Countries*, ſhould be ſo explained as to be " underſtood only of an attack from *France*.

" That *Britain* ſhould trade to the *Low Coun-* " *tries* with the ſame privileges as the States them- " ſelves.

" That the moſt Chriſtian king ſhould acknow- " ledge the ſucceſſion of *Hanover*, and immedi- " ately oblige the pretender to leave *France*; and " that the ſaid king ſhould promiſe, for himſelf " and his heirs, never to acknowledge any perſon " for king or queen of *England*, otherwiſe than ac- " cording to the ſettlements now in force.

" That a treaty of commerce ſhould be com- " menced, as ſoon as poſſible, between *France* and " *Britain*; and, in the mean time, the neceſſary " points relating to it be ſettled.

" That the iſle of *St. Chriſtopher's* ſhould be " ſurrendered to the queen, *Hudſon's* Bay reſtored, " *Placentia* and the whole iſland of *Newfoundland* " yielded to *Britain* by the moſt Chriſtian king;

" who was likewise to quit all claim to *Nova Sco-*
" *tia* and *Annapolis Royal.*

" That *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* should be annexed
" to the *British* crown.

" That the Assiento should be granted to *Bri-*
" *tain* for thirty years, with the same advantage
" as to *France*; with an extent of ground on the
" river of *Plata*, for keeping and refreshing the
" Negroes.

" That *Spain* should grant to the subjects of *Bri-*
" *tain* as large privileges as to any other nation what-
" soever; as likewise an exemption of duties,
" amounting to an advantage of at least fifteen *per*
" *cent.*

" That satisfaction should be demanded for
" what should appear to be justly due to her majesty,
" from the emperor and the States.

" Lastly, That the plenipotentiaries should con-
" sult, with those of the Protestant allies, the most
" effectual methods for restoring the Protestants of
" *France* to their religious and civil liberties, and
" for the immediate release of those who are now
" in the galleys."

What part of these demands were to be insisted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the sequel of this negociation. But there was no difficulty of moment enough to retard the peace, except a method for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain* under one prince, and the settling the barrier for *Holland*; which last, as claimed by the

" States,

States, could, in prudence and safety, be no more allowed by us than by *France*.

The States General having appointed Monſ. *Buys* to be one of their plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, that miniſter left *England* a few days after the lord privy-ſeal. In his laſt conference with the lords of the council, he abſolutely declared, "That his "maſters had done their utmoſt, both by ſea and "land; That it was unreaſonable to expect more: "That they had exceeded their proportion, even "beyond *Britain*; and that as to the emperor, and "other allies, he knew no expedient left for ma-"king them act with more vigour, than to purſue "them with pathetical exhortations."

This miniſter was ſent over hither, inſtructed and impowered by halves. The ferment raiſed by the united endeavours of our party-leaders, among whom he was a conſtant fellow-labourer to the utmoſt of his ſkill, had wholly confounded him: and thinking to take the advantage of negociating well for *Holland* at the expence of *Britain*, he acted but ill for his own country, and worſe for the common cauſe. However, the queen's miniſters and he parted with the greateſt civility; and her majeſty's preſent was double the value of what is uſual to the character he bore.

As the queen was determined to alter her meaſures in making war, ſo ſhe thought nothing would ſo much convince the States of the neceſſity of a peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this reſolution, which her ambaſſador *Strafford*,

then at the *Hague*, was accordingly directly to do: and if they ſhould object, of what ill conſequence it would be for the enemy to know her majeſty deſigned to leſſen her expences, he might anſwer, "That the miniſters here were ſorry for it; "but the *Dutch* could only blame themſelves, for "forcing into ſuch a neceſſity a princeſs, to whoſe "friendſhip they owed the preſervation and "grandeur of their republick, and chuſing to lean "on a broken faction, rather than place their con-"fidence in the queen."

It was her majeſty's earneſt deſire, that there ſhould be a perfect agreement at this treaty between the miniſters of all the allies, than which nothing could be more effectual to make *France* comply with their juſt demands: above all, ſhe directed her plenipotentiaries to enter into the ſtricteſt confidence with thoſe of *Holland*; and that, after the States had conſented to explain the Barrier-treaty to her reaſonable ſatisfaction, both powers ſhould form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and ſuch as might ſecure the quiet of *Europe*, as well as the particular intereſts of each confederate.

The *Dutch* were accordingly preſſed, before the congreſs opened, to come to ſome temperament upon that famous treaty; becauſe the miniſters here expected it would be ſoon laid before the houſe of commons, by which the reſentment of the nation would probably appear againſt thoſe who had been actors and adviſers in it: but Monſ. *Buys*, who

who uſually ſpoke for his collegues, was full of oppoſition, began to expoſtulate upon the advantages *Britain* had ſtipulated with *France*, and to inſiſt, that his maſters ought to ſhare equally in them all, but eſpecially the Aſſiento contract: ſo that no progreſs was made in fixing a previous good correſpondence between *Britain* and the States, which her majeſty had ſo earneſtly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon, for avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniencies, the conferences began at *Utrecht*, upon the 29th of *January*, N. S. 1711-12, at ten in the morning. The miniſters of the allies going into the Town houſe at one door and thoſe of *France* at the ſame inſtant at another, they all took their ſeats without diſtinction; and the biſhop of *Briſtol*, lord privy-ſeal, firſt plenipotentiary of *Britain*, opened the aſſembly with a ſhort ſpeech, directed to the miniſters of *France*, in words to the following effect:

"Meſſieurs,

"We are here met to-day, in the name of God, "to enter upon a treaty of general peace, between "the high allies and the king your maſter. We "bring ſincere intentions, and expreſs orders "from our ſuperiors to concur, on their part, with "whatever may advance and perfect ſo ſalutary "and Chriſtian a work. On the other ſide, we "hope you have the ſame diſpoſition; and that "your orders will be ſo full, as to be able, without "loſs of time, to anſwer the expectation of the

" high allies, by explaining yourſelves clearly and " roundly upon the points we ſhall have to ſettle " in theſe conferences; and that you will perform " this in ſo plain and ſpecific a manner, as every " prince and ſtate in the confederacy may find a juſt " and reaſonable ſatisfaction."

The *French* began, by promiſing to explain the overtures which Monſ. *Meſnager* had delivered to the queen ſome months before, and to give in a ſpecific project of what their maſter would yield, provided the allies would each give a ſpecific anſwer, by making their ſeveral demands; which method, after many difficulties, and affected delays in the *Dutch*, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had, with the utmoſt diſcontent, ſeen her majeſty at the head of this negociation, where they intended to have placed themſelves, began to diſcover their ill-humour upon every occaſion; they raiſed endleſs difficulties about ſettling the Barrier-treaty, as the queen deſired; and in one of the firſt general conferences, they would not ſuffer the *Britiſh* ſecretary to take the minutes, but nominated ſome *Dutch* profeſſor for that office, which the queen refuſed, and reſented their behaviour as an uſeleſs cavil, intended only to ſhew their want of reſpect. The *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries had great reaſon to ſuſpect, that the *Dutch* were, at this time, privately endeavouring to ingage in ſome ſeperate meaſures with *France*, by the intervention of one *Molo*, a buſy factious agent at *Amſterdam*, who had been often employed in

in ſuch intrigues: that this was the cauſe which made them ſo litigious and ſlow in all their ſteps, in hopes to break the congreſs, and find better terms for their trade and barrier, from the *French*, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The *Dutch* miniſters did alſo apply themſelves with induſtry, to cultivate the imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to ſecure all advantages of commerce with *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, in caſe thoſe dominions could be procured for the emperor: for this reaſon, they avoided ſettling any general plan of peace, in concert with the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, which her majeſty deſired; and Monſ. *Buys* plainly told their lordſhips, that it was a point, which neither he nor his collegues could conſent to, before the States were admitted equal ſharers with *Britain* in the trade of *Spain*.

The court having notice of this untractable temper in the *Dutch*, gave direct orders to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, for preſſing thoſe of the States to adjuſt the groſs inequalities of the Barrier-treaty, ſince nothing was more uſual or agreeable to reaſon than for princes, who find themſelvee aggrieved by prejudicial contracts, to expect they ſhould be modified and explained. And ſince it now appeared by votes in the houſe of commons, that the ſenſe of the nation agreed with what her majeſty deſired, if the *Dutch* miniſters would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordſhips were directed to improve and amend the particular conceſſions made to *Britain* by *France*, and

and form them into a treaty; for the queen was determined never to allow the States any ſhare in the Aſſiento, *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*; nor could think it reaſonable, that they ſhould be upon an equal foot with her in the trade of *Spain*, to the conqueſt whereof they had contributed ſo little.

Nor was the conduct of the imperial miniſter at this time leſs perplexing than that of the States, both thoſe powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the negociation, or upon forcing from the queen thoſe advantages ſhe expected by it for her own kingdoms. Her majeſty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of *March*, to ſend Mr. *Thomas Harley*, a near relation of the treaſurer's, to *Utrecht*, fully informed of her mind, which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*.

Mr. *Harley* ſtopped in his way to *Utrecht* at the *Hague*, and there told the penſionary, "That no-"thing had happened lately in *England* but what "was long ago foretold him, as well as the other "miniſters of the allies: That the proceedings "of the houſe of commons, particularly about the "Barrier-treaty, muſt chiefly be aſcribed to the "manner in which the queen and the nation had "been treated by Monſ. *Bothmar*, count *Gallas*, "*Buys*, and other foreign miniſters: That, if "the States would yet enter into a ſtrict union "with the queen, give her ſatisfaction in the ſaid "treaty, and join in concert with her plenipoten-"tiaries at *Utrecht*, a ſafe and advantageous peace

"might

" might be obtained for the whole alliance; other-
" wise her majesty must save her own country, and
" join with such of her allies as would join with
" her.

" As to the war, that the conduct of the allies,
" and their opposition to the queen, by private in-
" trigues carried on among her own subjects, as
" well as by open remonstrances, had made the
" house of commons take that matter out of the
" hands of the ministers.

" Lastly, that, in case the present treaty were
" broken off by the *Dutch* refusing to comply,
" her majesty thought it reasonable to insist, that
" some cautionary places be put into her hands as
" pledges, that no other negociation should be enter-
" ed into by the States General, without her parti-
" cipation."

Mr. *Harley's* instructions to the queen's plenipotentiaries were, " That they should press those
" of *France* to open themselves as far as possible,
" in concerting such a plan of a general peace, as
" might give reasonable satisfaction to all the con-
" federates, and such as her parliament would ap-
" prove: That the people of *England* believed
" *France* would consent to such a plan; wherein
" if they found themselves deceived, they would be
" as eager for prosecuting the war as ever."

Their lordships were to declare openly to the *Dutch*, " That no extremity should make her
" majesty depart from insisting to have the Assien-

" to

" to for her own ſubjects, and to keep *Gibraltar* " and *Port-Mahon*; but, if the States would agree " with her upon theſe three heads, ſhe would be " content to reduce the trade of *Spain* and the " *Weſt-Indies* to the condition it was in under the " late Catholic king *Charles* II."

The *French* were farther to be preſſed, " That " the pretender ſhould be immediately ſent out of " that kingdom; and that the moſt effectual me- " thod ſhould be taken, for preventing the union " of *France* and *Spain* under one prince."

About this time her majeſty's miniſters, and thoſe of the allies at *Utrecht*, delivered in the ſeveral poſtulata, or demands of their maſters to the *French* plenipotentiaries, which having been ſince made public, and all of them, except thoſe of *Britain*, very much varying in the courſe of the negociation, the reader would be but ill entertained with a tranſcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the laſt dauphin's death, the father, ſon, and grandſon, all of that title, dying within the compaſs of a year, Monſ. *Gaultier* went to *France* with letters to the marquiſs of *Torcy*, to propoſe her majeſty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with *Spain*; which, as it was the moſt important article to be ſettled, in order to ſecure peace for *Europe*, ſo it was a point that required to be ſpeedily adjuſted, under the preſent circumſtances and ſituation of the *Bourbon* family, there being only left a child of two years old

to

to ſtand between the duke of *Anjou* and his ſucceeding to the crown of *France*.

Her majeſty likewiſe preſſed *France* by the ſame diſpatches, to ſend full inſtructions to their plenipotentiaries, empowering them to offer to the allies ſuch a plan of peace, as might give reaſonable ſatisfaction to all her allies.

The queen's propoſal for preventing an union between *France* and *Spain* was, "that *Philip* ſhould "formally renounce the kidgdom of *France* for himſelf and his poſterity; and that this renunciation "ſhould be confirmed by the courts or ſtates of "*Spain*, who, without queſtion, would heartily "concur againſt ſuch an union, by which their "country muſt become a province to *France*." In like manner, the *French* princes of the blood were ſeverally to renounce all title to *Spain*.

The *French* raiſed many difficulties upon ſeveral particulars of this expedient; but the Queen perſiſted to refuſe any plan of peace before this weighty point were ſettled in the manner ſhe propoſed, which was afterwards ſubmitted to, as in proper place we ſhall obſerve. In the mean time, the negociation at *Utrecht* proceeded with a very ſlow pace; the *Dutch* interpoſing all obſtructions they could contrive, refuſing to come to any reaſonable temper upon the Barrier-treaty, or to offer a plan, in concert with the queen, for a general peace. Nothing leſs would ſatisfy them, than the partaking in thoſe advantages we had ſtipulated for ourſelves, and which did no ways interfere with their trade

or ſecurity. They ſtill expected ſome turn in *England*; their friends on this ſide had ventured to aſſure them, that the queen could not live many months, which, indeed, from the bad ſtate of her majeſty's health, was reaſonable to expect. The *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries daily diſcovered new endeavours of *Holland* to treat privately with *France*; and, laſtly, thoſe among the States, who deſired the war ſhould continue, ſtrove to gain time, until the campaign ſhould open; and by reſolving to enter into action with the firſt opportunity, render all things deſperate, and break up the congreſs.

This ſcheme did exactly fall in with prince *Eugene's* diſpoſitions, whom the States had choſen for their general, and of whoſe conduct, in this conjuncture, the queen had too much reaſon to be jealous; but her majeſty, who was reſolved to do her utmoſt towards putting a good and ſpeedy end to this war, having placed the duke of *Ormond* at the head of her forces in *Flanders*, whither he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in *Britiſh* pay, whether ſubjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command; and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any action of importance, unleſs upon a very apparent advantage. At the ſame time the queen determined to make one thorough trial of the diſpoſition of the States, by allowing them the utmoſt conceſſions that could any way ſuit either with her ſafety or honour. She therefore directed her miniſters at *Utrecht*, to tell the *Dutch*, "That, in order to ſhew how deſirous

"ſhe

" ſhe was to live in perfect amity with that repub-
" lick, ſhe would reſign up the fifteen *per cent.* ad-
" vantage upon *Engliſh* goods ſent to the *Spaniſh*
" dominions, which the *French* king had offered
" her by a power from his grandſon, and be con-
" tent to reduce that trade to the ſtate in which it
" was under the late king of *Spain.* She would
" accept of any tolerable ſoftening of theſe words
" in the ſeventh article of the Barrier-treaty,
" where it is ſaid, the States ſhall have power, in
" caſe of an apparent attack, to put as many
" troops as they pleaſe into all the places of the
" *Netherlands*, without ſpecifying an attack from
" the ſide of *France*, as ought to have been done;
" otherwiſe, the queen might juſtly think they were
" preparing themſelves for a rupture with *Britain.*
" Her majeſty likewiſe conſented, that the States
" ſhould keep *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*, and the caſ-
" tle of *Ghent*, as an addition to their barrier, al-
" though ſhe were ſenſible how injurious thoſe con-
" ceſſions would be to the trade of her ſubjects;
" and would wave the demand of *Oſtend* being de-
" livered into her hands, which ſhe might with
" juſtice inſiſt on. In return of all this, that the
" queen only deſired the miniſters of the States
" would enter into a cloſe correſpondence with
" her's, and ſettle between them ſome plan of
" a general peace, which might give reaſon-
" able content to all her allies, and which her ma-
" jeſty would endeavour to bring *France* to con-
" ſent to. She deſired the trade of her kingdoms
" to the *Netherlands*, and to the towns of their bar-
" rier,

" rier, might be upon as good a foot as it was be-
" fore the war began: That the *Dutch* would not
" inſiſt to have ſhare in the Aſſiento, to which
" they had not the leaſt pretenſions; and that they
" would no longer encourage the intrigues of a fac-
" tion againſt her government. Her majeſty aſ-
" ſured them in plain terms, that her own future
" meaſures, and the conduct of her plenipotentia-
" ries, ſhould be wholly governed by their beha-
" viour in theſe points; and that her offers were
" only conditional, in caſe of their compliance with
" what ſhe deſired."

But all theſe proofs of the queen's kindneſs and ſincerity could not avail. The *Dutch* miniſters pleaded, they had no power to concert the plan of general peace with thoſe of *Britain*: however, they aſſured the latter, that the Aſſiento was the only difficulty which ſtuck with their maſters. Whereupon, at their deſire, a contract for that traffick was twice read to them; after which they appeared very well ſatisfied, and ſaid they would go to the *Hague* for further inſtructions. Thither they went, and, after a week's abſence, returned the ſame anſwer, " That they had no power to
" ſettle a ſcheme of peace; but could only diſcourſe
" of it, when the difficulties of the Barrier-treaty
" were over." And Monſ. *Buys* took a journey to *Amſterdam*, on purpoſe to ſtir up that city, where he was penſionary, againſt yielding the Aſſiento to *Britain*; but was unſucceſsful in his negociation; the

the point being yielded up there, and in moſt other towns in *Holland*.

It will have an odd ſound in hiſtory, and appear hardly credible, that, in ſeveral petty republicks of ſingle towns, which make up the States General, it ſhould be formally debated, whether the queen of *Great Britain*, who preſerved the commonwealth at the charge of ſo many millions, ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by *Spain* of ſelling *African* ſlaves in the *Spaniſh* dominions of *America!* But there was a prevailing faction at the *Hague*, violently bent againſt any peace, where the queen muſt act that part which they had intended for themſelves. Theſe politicians, who held conſtant correſpondence with their old dejected friends in *England*, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the queen's death, or the party's reſtoration. They likewiſe endeavoured to ſpin out the time, till prince *Eugene's* activity had puſhed on ſome great event, which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace. Therefore the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the inſtructions of thoſe miſtaken patriots, acted in every point with a ſpirit of litigiouſneſs, than which nothing could give greater advantage to the enemy; a ſtrict union between the allies, but eſpecially *Britain* and *Holland*, being doubtleſs the only means for procuring ſafe and honourable terms from *France*.

But neither was this the worſt; for the queen received undoubted intelligence from *Utrecht*, that

the *Dutch* were again attempting a ſeparate correſpondence with *France*. And by letters, intercepted, here, from *Vienna*, it was found, that the imperial court, whoſe miniſters were in the utmoſt confidence with thoſe of *Holland*, expreſſed the moſt furious rage againſt her majeſty, for the ſteps ſhe had taken to advance a peace.

This unjuſtifiable treatment the queen could not digeſt from an ally, upon whom ſhe had conferred ſo many ſignal obligations, whom ſhe had uſed with ſo much indulgence and ſincerity during the whole courſe of the negociation, and had ſo often invited to go along with her in every motion towards a peace. She apprehended likewiſe, that the negociation might be taken out of her hands, if *France* could be ſecure of eaſier conditions in *Holland*, or might think that *Britain* wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She reſolved, therefore, on this occaſion, to exert herſelf with vigour, ſteadineſs, and diſpatch; and, in the beginning of *May*, ſent her commands to the earl of *Strafford* to repair immediately to *England*, in order to conſult with her miniſters what was proper to be done.

The propoſal above mentioned, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, met with many difficulties; Monſ. *de Torcy* raiſing objections againſt ſeveral parts of it. But the queen refuſed to proceed any farther with *France*, until this weighty point were fully ſettled to her ſatisfaction; after which, ſhe promiſed to grant a ſuſpenſion of arms, provided the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* might be de-

livered as a pledge into her hands: and propoſed that *Ipres* might be ſurrendered to the *Dutch*, if they would conſent to come into the ſuſpenſion. *France* abſolutely refuſed the latter; and the States General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her majeſty, ſhe preſſed that matter no farther; becauſe ſhe doubted they would not agree to a ceſſation of arms. However, ſhe reſolved to put a ſpeedy end, or at leaſt intermiſſion, to her own ſhare in the war: and the *French* having declared themſelves ready to agree to her expedients for preventing the union of the two crowns, and conſented to the delivery of *Dunkirk*; poſitive orders were ſent to the duke of *Ormond* to avoid engaging in any battle or ſiege, until he had further inſtructions; but he was directed to conceal his orders, and to find the beſt excuſes he could, if any preſſing occaſion ſhould offer.

The reaſons for this unuſual proceeding, which made a mighty noiſe, were of ſufficient weight to juſtify it; for, purſuant to the agreement made between us and *France*, a courier was then diſpatched from *Fontainbleau* to *Madrid*, with the offer of an alternative to *Philip*, either of reſigning *Spain* immediately to the duke of *Savoy*, upon the hopes of ſucceeding to *France*, and ſome preſent advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needleſs to dilate on; or of adhering to *Spain*, and renouncing all future claim to *France* for himſelf and his poſterity.

Until it could be known which part *Phillip* would accept, the queen would not take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, nor ſuffer an armiſtice to be declared. But, however, ſince the moſt Chriſtian king had agreed that his grandſon ſhould be forced, in caſe of a refuſal, to make his choice immediately, her majeſty could not endure to think, that perhaps ſome thouſands of lives of her own ſubjects and allies might be ſacrifiſed, without neceſſity, if an occaſion ſhould be found or ſought for fighting a battle; which, ſhe very well knew, prince *Eugene* would eagerly attempt, and put all into confuſion, to gratify his own ambition, the enemy of his new maſters the *Dutch*, and the rage of his court.

But the duke of *Ormond*, who, with every other quality that can accompliſh or adorn a great man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his anceſtors, found it very difficult to acquit himſelf of his commiſſion; for prince *Eugene*, and all the field-deputies of the States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy, or beſieging *Queſnoy*, the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected; and accordingly, about three days after the duke had received thoſe orders from court, it was propoſed to his grace, at a meeting with the prince and deputies, that the *French* army ſhould be attacked, their camp having been viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it with ſucceſs: for the marechal *de Villars*, who had notice ſent him by Monſ. *de Torcy* of what was paſſing, and had ſignified the ſame by a trumpet

trumpet to the duke, ſhewed leſs vigilance than was uſual to that general, taking no precautions to ſecure his camp, or obſerve the motions of the allies, probably on purpoſe to provoke them; the duke ſaid, "That the earl of *Strafford's* ſudden departure for *England* made him believe there was "ſomething of conſequence now tranſacting, "which would be known in four or five days; and "therefore deſired they would defer this or any "other undertaking, until he could receive freſh "letters from *England*." Whereupon the prince and deputies immediately told the duke, "That "they looked for ſuch an anſwer as he had given "them: That they had ſuſpected our meaſures "for ſome time, and their ſuſpicions were confirmed by the expreſs his grace had ſo lately received, "as well as by the negligence of Monſ. *Villars*." They appeared extremly diſſatisfied; and the deputies told the duke, that they would immediately ſend an account of his anſwer to their maſters, which they accordingly did; and ſoon after, by order from the States, wrote him an expoſtulating letter, in a ſtyle leſs reſpectful than became them; deſiring him, among other things, to explain himſelf, whether he had poſitive orders not to fight the *French*; and afterwards told him, "They were "ſure he had ſuch orders; otherwiſe he could not "anſwer what he had done." But the duke ſtill waved the queſtion, ſaying, "he would be glad to "have letters from *England*, before he entered upon "action, and that he expected them daily."

Upon this incident, the miniſters and generals of the allies immediately took the alarm, venting their fury in very violent expreſſions againſt the queen, and thoſe ſhe employed in her counſels: ſaid, they were betrayed by *Britain*, and aſſumed the countenance of thoſe who think they have received an injury, and were diſpoſed to return it.

The duke of *Ormond's* army conſiſted of eighteen thouſand of her majeſty's ſubjects, and about thirty thouſand hired from other princes, either wholly by the queen, or jointly by her and the States. The duke immediately informed the court of the diſpoſitions he found among the foreign generals upon this occaſion; and that, upon an exigency, he could only depend on the *Britiſh* troops adhering to him; thoſe of *Hanover* having already determined to deſert to the *Dutch*, and tempted the *Danes* to do the like; and that he had reaſon to ſuppoſe the ſame of the reſt.

Upon the news arriving at *Utrecht*, that the duke of *Ormond* had refuſed to engage in any action againſt the enemy, the *Dutch* miniſters there went immediately to make their complaints to the lord privy-ſeal; aggravating the ſtrangeneſs of this proceeding, together with the conſequence of it, in the loſs of a moſt favourable opportunity for ruining the *French* army, and the diſcontent it muſt needs create in the whole body of the confederates; adding, how hard it was that they ſhould be kept in the dark, and have no communication of what was done in a point which ſo nearly concerned them.

them. They concluded, that the duke muſt needs have acted by orders; and deſired his lordſhip to write, both to court and to his grace, what they had now ſaid.

The biſhop anſwered, "That he knew nothing "of this fact, but what they had told him; and "therefore was not prepared with a reply to their "repreſentations: only, in general, he could "venture to ſay, that this caſe appeared very like "the conduct of their field-deputies upon former "occaſions: That, if ſuch orders were given, "they were certainly built upon very juſtifiable "foundations, and would ſoon be ſo explained as "to convince the States, and all the world, that "the common intereſt would be better provided "for another way, than by a battle or ſiege: "That the want of communication, which they "complained of, could not make the States ſo "uneaſy as their declining to receive it had made "the queen, who had uſed her utmoſt endeavours "to perſuade them to concur with her in concert-"ing every ſtep towards a general peace, and ſet-"tling ſuch a plan as both ſides might approve "and adhere to; but, to this day, the States had "not thought fit to accept thoſe offers, or to au-"thoriſe any of their miniſters to treat with her "majeſty's plenipotentiaries upon that affair, al-"though they had been preſſed to it ever ſince the "negociation began: That his lordſhip, to ſhew "that he did not ſpeak his private ſenſe alone, took "this opportunity to execute the orders he had re-

" ceived the evening before, by declaring to them, " that all her majesty's offers for adjusting the dif- " ferences between her and the States were found- " ed upon this express condition, That they should " come immediately into the queen's measures, " and act openly and sincerely with her; and that, " from their conduct, so directly contrary, she " now looked upon herself to be under no obliga- " tion to them."

Monsr. *Buys* and his colleagues were stunned with this declaration, made to them at a time when they pretended to think the right of complaining to be on their side, and had come to the bishop upon that errand. But, after their surprise was abated, and *Buys's* long reasonings at an end, they began to think how matters might be retrieved; and were of opinion, that the States should immediately dispatch a minister to *England*, unless his lordship were empowered to treat with them; which, without new commands, he said he was not. They afterwards desired to know of the bishop, what the meaning was of the last words in his declaration, " That her majesty looked " upon herself to be under no obligation to them." He told them his opinion, " That, as the queen " was bound by treaty to concert with the States " the conditions of a peace, so, upon their declin- " ing the concert so frequently offered, she was ac- " quitted of that obligation: but that he verily be- " lieved, whatever measures her majesty should " take, she would always have a friendly regard to

" the intereſt of their commonwealth; and that as " their unkindneſs had been very unexpected and " diſagreeable to her majeſty, ſo their compliance " would be equally pleaſing."

I have been the more circumſtantial in relating this affair, becauſe it furniſhed abundance of diſcourſe, and gave riſe to many wild conjectures and miſrepreſentations, as well here as in *Holland*, eſpecially that part which concerned the duke of *Ormond*; for the angry faction in the houſe of commons, upon the firſt intelligence that the duke had declined to act offenſively againſt *France*, in concurrence with the allies, moved for an addreſs, wherein the queen ſhould be informed of " the deep " concern of her commons for the dangerous con- " ſequences to the common cauſe, which muſt ariſe " from this proceeding of her general; and to be- " ſeech her, that ſpeedy inſtructions might be given " to the duke to proſecute the war with vigour, " in order to quiet the minds of her people, *&c.*" But a great majority was againſt this motion, and a reſolution drawn up and preſented to the queen by the whole houſe of a quite contrary tenour, " That they had an intire confidence in her maje- " ſty's moſt gracious promiſe, to communicate to " her parliament the terms of the peace, before the " ſame ſhould be concluded; and that they would " ſupport her majeſty, in obtaining an honourable " and ſafe peace, againſt all ſuch perſons, either at " home or abroad, who have endeavoured or ſhall " endeavour to obſtruct the ſame."

The

The courier ſent with the alternative to *Spain* was now returned, with an account that *Philip* had choſen to renounce *France* for himſelf and his poſterity; whereof the queen having received notice, her majeſty, upon the 6th of *June*, in a long ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace, ſtipulated between her and *France*. This ſpeech, being the plan whereby both *France* and the allies have been obliged to proceed in the ſubſequent courſe of the treaty, I ſhall deſire the reader's leave to inſert it at length, although I believe it hath been already in moſt hands:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The making peace and war is the undoubted " prerogative of the crown; yet ſuch is the juſt " confidence I place in you, that, at the opening of " this ſeſſion, I acquainted you that a negocia- " tion for a general peace was begun; and after- " wards, by meſſages, I promiſed to communi- " cate to you the terms of peace, before the ſame " ſhould be concluded.

" In purſuance of that promiſe, I now come to " let you know upon what terms a general peace " may be made.

" I need not mention the difficulties which ariſe " from the very nature of this affair; and it is " but too apparent, that theſe difficulties have been " increaſed by other obſtructions, artfully con- " trived to hinder this great and good work.

" Nothing,

"Nothing, however, has moved me from "steadily purſuing, in the firſt place, the true in- "tereſts of my own kingdoms; and I have not "omitted any thing, which might procure to all "our allies what is due to them by treaties, and "what is neceſſary for their ſecurity.

"The aſſuring of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as "by law eſtabliſhed in the houſe of *Hanover*, to "theſe kingdoms, being what I have neareſt at "heart, particular care is taken not only to have "that acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt terms, but to "have an additional ſecurity, by the removal of "that perſon out of the dominions of *France*, who "has pretended to diſturb this ſettlement.

"The apprehenſion that *Spain* and the *Weſt* "*Indies* might be united to *France*, was the chief "inducement to begin this war; and the effectual "preventing of ſuch an union was the principle "I laid down at the commencement of this treaty: "former examples, and the late negociations, ſuf- "ficiently ſhew how difficult it is to find means to "accompliſh this work. I would not content "myſelf with ſuch as are ſpeculative, or depend "on treaties only: I inſiſted on what was ſolid, "and to have at hand the power of executing "what ſhould be agreed.

"I can therefore now tell you, that *France* at "laſt is brought to offer, that the duke of *Anjou* "ſhall, for himſelf and his deſcendants, renounce "for ever all claim to the crown of *France*; and "that this important article may be expoſed to no

"hazard,

" hazard, the performance is to accompany the " promiſe.

" At the ſame time, the ſucceſſion to the crown " of *France* is to be declared, after the death of the " preſent dauphin and his ſons, to be in the duke " of *Berry* and his ſons, in the duke of *Orleans* and " his ſons, and ſo on to the reſt of the houſe of " *Bourbon*.

" As to *Spain* and the *Indies*, the ſucceſſion to " thoſe dominions, after the duke of *Anjou* and his " children, is to deſcend to ſuch prince as ſhall be " agreed upon at the treaty, for ever excluding the " reſt of the houſe of *Bourbon*.

" For confirming the renunciations and ſettle- " ments before-mentioned, 'tis further offered, " that they ſhould be ratified in the moſt ſtrong " and ſolemn manner, both in *France* and *Spain*; " and that thoſe kingdoms, as well as all the other " powers engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be " guarantees to the ſame.

" The nature of this propoſal is ſuch, that it " executes itſelf: the intereſt of *Spain* is to ſup- " port it; and in *France*, the perſons to whom " that ſucceſſion is to belong, will be ready and " powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

" *France* and *Spain* are now more effectually di- " vided than ever. And thus, by the bleſſing of " God, will a real balance of power be fixed in " *Europe*, and remain liable to as few accidents as " human affairs can be exempted from.

" A treaty

" A treaty of commerce between theſe king-
" doms and *France* has been entered upon; but
" the exceſſive duties laid on ſome goods, and the
" prohibitions of others, make it impoſſible to
" finiſh this work ſo ſoon as were to be deſired.
" Care is however taken to eſtabliſh a method of
" ſettling this matter; and in the mean time pro-
" viſion is made, that the ſame privileges and ad-
" vantages, as ſhall be granted to any other nation
" by *France*, ſhall be granted in like manner to
" us.

" The diviſion of the iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*,
" between us and the *French*, having been the
" cauſe of great inconveniency and damage to my
" ſubjects, I have demanded to have an abſolute
" ceſſion made to me of the whole iſland; and
" *France* agrees to this demand.

" Our intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the
" trade of *North America*, that I have uſed my
" utmoſt endeavours to adjuſt that article in the
" moſt beneficial manner. *France* conſents to reſtore
" to us the whole bay and ſtreights of *Hudſon*, to
" deliver up the iſland of *Newfoundland*, with *Pla-
" centia*; and to make an abſolute ceſſion of *An-
" napolis*, with the reſt of *Nova Scotia*, or *Accadie*:
" the ſafety of our home trade will be better pro-
" vided for, by the demolition of *Dunkirk*.

" Our *Mediterranean* trade, and the *Britiſh* in-
" tereſt and influence in thoſe parts, will be ſe-
" cured by the poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar* and *Port-
" Mahon*,

" *Mahon*, with the whole iſland of *Minorca*, " which are offered to remain in my hands.

" The trade to *Spain* and the *Weſt Indies* may " in general be ſettled as it was in the time of the " late king of *Spain*, *Charles* the Second, and a " particular proviſion be made, that all advantages, " rights, or privileges, which have been granted, " or may hereafter be granted, by *Spain* to any " other nation, ſhall be in like manner granted to " the ſubjects of *Great Britain*.

" But, the part which we have borne in the " proſecution of this war, intitling us to ſome diſ- " tinction in the terms of peace, I have inſiſted, " and obtained, that the Aſſiento, or contract for " furniſhing the *Spaniſh* Weſt Indies with Negroes, " ſhall be made with us for the term of thirty " years, in the ſame manner as it has been enjoyed " by the *French* for ten years paſt.

" I have not taken upon me to determine the " intereſts of our confederates; theſe muſt be ad- " juſted in the congreſs at *Utrecht*, where my beſt " endeavours ſhall be employed, as they have " hitherto conſtantly been, to procure to every " one of them all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction. " In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint " you, that *France* offers to make the *Rhine* the " barrier of the empire; to yield *Briſack*, the fort " of *Kehl*, and *Landau*, and to raſe all the fortreſſes, " both on the other ſide of the *Rhine* and in that " river.

" As

" As to the Proteſtant intereſt in *Germany*, there " will be on the part of *France* no objection to the " re-ſettling thereof, on the foot of the treaty of " *Weſtphalia*.

" The *Spaniſh* Low Countries may go to his " imperial majeſty: the kingdoms of *Naples* and " *Sardinia*, the dutchy of *Milan*, and the places " belonging to *Spain* on the coaſt of *Tuſcany*, may " likewiſe be yielded by the treaty of peace to the " emperor.

" As to the kingdom of *Sicily*, though there re- " mains no diſpute concerning the ceſſion of it by " the duke of *Anjou*, yet the diſpoſition thereof is " not yet determined.

" The intereſts of the States General, with re- " ſpect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have " been demanded by their own miniſters, with the " exception only of ſome very few ſpecies of mer- " chandize: and the intire barrier, as demanded " by the States in 1709 from *France*, except two " or three places at moſt.

" As to theſe exceptions, ſeveral expedients are " propoſed; and I make no doubt but this barrier " may be ſo ſettled, as to render that republick " perfectly ſecure againſt any enterpriſe on the part " of *France*; which is the foundation of all my " engagements upon this head with the States.

" The demands of *Portugal* depending on the " diſpoſition of *Spain*, and that article having been " long in diſpute, it has not been yet poſſible to " make any conſiderable progreſs therein; but my " pleni-

" plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity " to assist that king in his pretensions.

" Those of the king of *Prussia* are such as, I " hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part of " *France*; and my utmost endeavours shall not be " wanting to procure all I am able to so good an " ally.

" The difference between the barrier demanded " for the duke of *Savoy* in 1709, and the offers " now made by *France*, is very inconsiderable: but " that prince having so signally distinguished him- " self in the service of the common cause, I am en- " deavouring to procure for him still farther advan- " tages.

" *France* has consented, that the elector *Palatine* " shall continue his present rank among the elec- " tors, and remain in possession of the *Upper Pala-* " *tinate*.

" The electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged " in the house of *Hanover*, according to the arti- " cle inserted, at that prince's desire, in my de- " mands.

" And as to the rest of the allies, I make no " doubt of being able to secure their several in- " terests.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I have now communicated to you, not only " the terms of peace, which may, by the future " treaty, be obtained for my own subjects; but " likewise

" likewiſe the propoſals of *France*, for ſatisfying " our allies.

" The former are ſuch as I have reaſon to ex- " pect, to make my people ſome amends for that " great and unequal burden which they have lain " under, through the whole courſe of this war; " and I am willing to hope, that none of our con- " federates, and eſpecially thoſe to whom ſo great " acceſſions of dominion and power are to accrue " by this peace, will envy *Britain* her ſhare in the " glory and advantage of it.

" The latter are not yet ſo perfectly adjuſted, " as a little more time might have rendered them; " but the ſeaſon of the year making it neceſſary to " put an end to this ſeſſion, I reſolved no longer " to defer communicating theſe matters to you.

" I can make no doubt but you are all fully " perſuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my " part, in the progreſs of the negociation, to bring " the peace to an happy and ſpeedy iſſue; and I " depend on your intire confidence in me, and " your chearful concurrence with me."

The diſcontented party in the houſe of commons, finding the torrent againſt them not to be ſtemmed, ſuſpended their oppoſition; by which means an addreſs was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her majeſty's condeſcenſion, to expreſs their ſatisfaction in what ſhe had already done, and to deſire ſhe would pleaſe to proceed with the preſent negociations for the obtaining a ſpeedy peace.

During these transactions at home, the duke of *Ormond* was in a very uneasy situation at the army, employed in practising those arts which perhaps are fitter for a subtle negociator than a great commander. But, as he had always proved his obedience, where courage or conduct could be of use; so the duty he professed to his prince, made him submit to continue in a state of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her majesty's service. He had sent early notice to the ministers, that he could not depend upon the foreign forces in the queen's pay; and he now found some attempts were already begun to seduce them.

While the courier was expected from *Madrid*, the duke had orders to inform the marechal *de Villars* of the true state of this affair; that his grace would have decisive orders in three or four days. In the mean time, he desired the marechal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himself, or to join with prince *Eugene's* army; which he must necessarily do, if the prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived with the account, that *Philip* had chosen to accept of *Spain*, her majesty had proposed to *France* a suspension of arms for two months (to be prolonged three or four) between the armies now in *Flanders*, upon the following conditions:

"That, during the suspension, endeavours "should be used for concluding a general peace; "or, at least, the article for preventing the union "of *France* and *Spain* should be punctually exe-"cuted,

" cuted, by *Philip's* renouncing *France*, for himself " and his posterity; and the princes of *Bourbon*, " in like manner, renouncing *Spain*: and that the " town, citadel, and forts of *Dunkirk*, should be " immediately delivered into the queen's hands." Her majesty, at the same time, endeavoured to get *Cambray* for the *Dutch*, provided they would come into the suspension. But this was absolutely rejected by *France*; which that court never would have ventured to do, if those allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with sincerity and openness in concert with her majesty, as her plenipotentiaries had always desired. However, the queen promised, that, if the States would yield to a suspension of arms, they should have some valuable pledge put into their possession.

But now fresh intelligence daily arrived, both from *Utrecht* and the army, of attempts to make the troops in her majesty's pay desert her service; and a design even of seizing the *British* forces was whispered about, and with reason suspected.

When the queen's speech was published in *Holland*, the lord privy-seal told the *Dutch* ministers at *Utrecht*, " That what her majesty had laid " before her parliament could not, according to " the rules of treaty, be looked on as the utmost " of what *France* would yield in the course of a " negociation; but only the utmost of what that " crown would propose, in order to form the plan " of a peace: That these conditions would cer- " tainly have been better, if the States had thought

" fit to have gone hand in hand with her majesty, as " she had so frequently exhorted them to do: That " nothing but the want of harmony among the allies " had spirited the *French* to stand out so long: That " the queen would do them all the good offices in " her power, if they thought fit to comply; and did " not doubt of getting them reasonable satisfaction, " both in relation to their barrier and their trade." But this reasoning made no impression: the *Dutch* ministers said, the queen's speech had deprived them of the fruits of the war. They were in pain lest *Lisle* and *Tournay* might be two of the towns to be excepted out of their barrier. The rest of the allies grew angry, by the example of the *Dutch*. The populace in *Holland* began to be enflamed: they publicly talked, that *Britain* had betrayed them. Sermons were preached in several towns of their provinces, whether by direction or connivance, filled with the highest instances of disrespect to her *Britannic* majesty, whom they charged as a papist, and an enemy to their country. The lord privy seal himself believed something extraordinary was in agitation, and that his own person was in danger from the fury of the people.

It is certain, that the States appeared but a few days before very much disposed to comply with the measures the queen had taken, and would have consented to a general armistice, if count *Zinzendorf*, one of the plenipotentiaries for the emperor, had not, by direct orders from his court, employed himself in sowing jealousies between *Britain* and the

the States; and at the ſame time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the miniſters of *Pruſſia*, the *Palatinate*, and *Hanover*, for continuing the war. That thoſe three electors, who contributed nothing, except bodies of men in return of pay and ſubſidies, ſhould readily accept the propoſals of the emperor, is eaſy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave republick, uſually cautious enough in making their bargains, ſhould venture to reject the thoughts of a peace upon the promiſes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, the little validity whereof they had ſo long experienced; and eſpecially when they counted upon loſing the ſupport of *Britain*, their moſt powerful ally; but the falſe hopes given them by their friends in *England* of ſome new change in their favour, or an imagination of bringing *France* to better terms by the appearance of reſolution, added to the weakneſs or corruption of ſome, who adminiſtred their affairs, were the true cauſes which firſt created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The *Dutch* miniſters were wholly diſconcerted and ſurpriſed, when the lord privy ſeal told them, "That a ſuſpenſion of arms in the *Netherlands* "would be neceſſary; and that the duke of *Or-* "*mond* intended very ſoon to declare it after he "had taken poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*." But his lordſhip endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for haſtening the

States into a compliance with her majesty. He likewise communicated to the ministers of the allies the offers made by *France*, as delivered in the speech from the throne, which her majesty thought to be satisfactory, and hoped their masters would concur with her in bringing the peace to a speedy conclusion, wherein each, in particular, might be assured of her best offices for advancing their just pretensions.

In the mean time the duke of *Ormond* was directed to send a body of troops to take possession of *Dunkirk*, as soon as he should have notice from the marechal *de Villars*, that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it; but the duke foresaw many difficulties in the executing of this commission. He could trust such an enterprize to no forces, except those of her majesty's own subjects. He considered the temper of the States in this conjuncture, and was loth to divide a small body of men, upon whose faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought it not prudent to expose them to march through the enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor truce; and he had sufficient reasons to apprehend, that the *Dutch* would either not permit such a detachment to pass through their towns (as themselves had more than hinted to him) or would seize them as they passed: besides, the duke had fairly signified to marechal *de Villars*, that he expected to be deserted by all the foreign troops in her majesty's pay, as soon as the armistice should

ſhould be declared; at which the marechal appearing extremely diſappointed, ſaid, "the king his "maſter reckoned, that all the troops under his "grace's command ſhould yield to the ceſſation; "and wondered how it ſhould come to paſs, that "thoſe who might be paid for lying ſtill, would ra- "ther chuſe, after a ten years war, to enter into "the ſervice of new maſters, under whom they "muſt fight on for nothing." In ſhort, the opinion of Monſ. *Villars* was, that this difficulty cancelled the promiſe of ſurrendering *Dunkirk*; which therefore he oppoſed as much as poſſible, in the letters he writ to his court.

Upon the duke of *Ormond's* repreſenting thoſe difficulties, the queen altered her meaſures, and ordered forces to be ſent from *England* to take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*. The duke was likewiſe commanded to tell the foreign generals in her majeſty's ſervice, how highly ſhe would reſent their deſertion; after which their maſters muſt give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay or ſubſidy. The lord privy-ſeal ſpoke the ſame language at *Utrecht*, to the ſeveral miniſters of the allies: as Mr. ſecretary *St. John* did to thoſe who reſided here; adding, "That the proceeding of the for- "eign troops would be looked upon as a declarati- "on for or againſt her majeſty: and that, in caſe "they deſert her ſervice, ſhe would look on herſelf "as juſtified, before God and man, to continue her "negociation at *Utrecht*, or any other place, whe- "ther the allies concur or not." And particularly

the *Dutch* were assured, "That, if their masters "seduced the forces hired by the queen, they must "take the whole pay, arrears, and subsidies, on "themselves."

The earl of *Strafford*, preparing about this time to return to *Utrecht*, with instructions proper to the present situation of affairs, went first to the army, and there informed the duke of *Ormond* of her majesty's intentions. He also acquainted the States Deputies with the queen's uneasiness, left, by the measures they were taking, they should drive her to extremities, which she desired so much to avoid. He farther represented to them, in the plainest terms, the provocations her majesty had received, and the grounds and reasons for her present conduct. He likewise declared to the commanders in chief of the foreign troops, in the queen's pay, and in the joint pay of *Britain* and the States, with how much surprize her majesty had heard, "That there was "the least doubt of their obeying the orders of the "duke of *Ormond*; which if they refused, her ma-"jesty would esteem it not only as an indignity and "affront, but as a declaration against her; and, "in such a case, they must look on themselves as "no farther intitled either to any arrear, or future "pay, or subsidies."

Six regiments, under the command of Mr. *Hill*, were now preparing to embark, in order to take possession of *Dunkirk*; and the duke of *Ormond*, upon the first intelligence sent him, that the *French* were ready to deliver the town, was to declare he could

could act no longer againſt *France*. The queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, "That their "perpetual caballing with her factious ſubjects, "againſt her authority, had forced her into ſuch "meaſures, as otherwiſe ſhe would not have en- "gaged in. However, her majeſty was willing "yet to forget all that had paſſed, and to unite "with them in the ſtricteſt ties of amity, which "ſhe hoped they would now do; ſince they could "not but be convinced, by the late dutiful ad- "dreſſes of both houſes, how far their high mighti- "neſſes had been deluded, and drawn in as inſtru- "ments to ſerve the turn, and gratify the paſ- "ſions, of a diſaffected party: That their op- "poſition, and want of concert with her ma- "jeſty's miniſters, which ſhe had ſo often invited "them to, had encouraged *France* to except towns "out of their barrier, which otherwiſe might have "been yielded: That, however, ſhe had not pre- "cluded them, or any other ally, from demand- "ing more; and even her own terms were but "conditional, upon ſuppoſition of a general peace "to enſue: That her majeſty reſolved to act upon "the plan laid down in her ſpeech." And ſhe re- peated the promiſe of her beſt offices to promote the intereſt of the States, if they would deal ſincerely with her.

Some days before the duke of *Ormond* had no- tice that orders were given for the ſurrender of *Dunkirk*, prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* ſent for the ge-

nerals

nerals of the allies, and aſked them ſeverally, whether, in caſe the armies ſeparated, they would march with him, or ſtay with the duke? All of them, except two, who commanded but ſmall bodies, agreed to join with the prince; who thereupon, about three days after, ſent the duke word, that he intended to march the following day (as it was ſuppoſed) to beſiege *Landrecy*. The duke returned an anſwer, "That he was ſurpriſed at the "prince's meſſage, there having been not the leaſt "previous conceit with him, nor any mention in "the meſſage, which way, or upon what de-"ſign, the march was intended: therefore, that "the duke could not reſolve to march with him; "much leſs could the prince expect aſſiſtance "from the queen's army, in any deſign undertaken "after this manner." The duke told this beforehand, that he (the prince) might take his meaſures accordingly, and not attribute to her majeſty's general any misfortune that might happen.

On the 16th of *July*, N. S. the ſeveral generals of the allies joined prince *Eugene's* army, and began their march, after taking leave of the duke and the earl of *Strafford*, whoſe expoſtulations could not prevail on them to ſtay; although the latter aſſured them, that the queen had made neither peace nor truce with *France*, and that her forces would now be left expoſed to the enemy.

The next day after this famous deſertion, the duke of *Ormond* received a letter from Monſ. *de Villars*, with an account, that the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* ſhould be delivered to Mr. *Hill*.

Where-

Whereupon a ceſſation of arms was declared, by found of trumpet, at the head of the *Britiſh* army; which now conſiſted only of about eighteen thouſand men, all of her majeſty's ſubjects, except the *Holſteiners* and count *Wallis's* dragoons. With this ſmall body of men the general began his march; and, purſuant to orders from court, retired towards the ſea, in the manner he thought moſt convenient for the queen's ſervice. When he came as far as *Flines*, he was told by ſome of his officers, that the commandants of *Bouchain*, *Douay*, *Liſle* and *Tournay*, had refuſed them paſſage thro' thoſe towns, or even liberty of entrance, and ſaid it was by order of their maſters. The duke immediately recollected, that, when the deputies firſt heard of his reſolution to withdraw his troops, they told him, they hoped he did not intend to march through any of their towns. This made him conclude, that the orders muſt be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the ſame treatment which his officers had done. He had likewiſe, before the armies ſeparated, received information of ſome deſigns that concerned the ſafety, or at leaſt the freedom, of his own perſon, and (which he much more valued) that of thoſe few *Britiſh* troops intruſted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deſervedly beloved by his ſoldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to ſacrifiſe their lives in his ſervice; and whoſe reſentments were raiſed to the utmoſt, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deſerters.

Upon

Upon these provocations, he laid aside all thoughts of returning to *Dunkirk*, and began to consider how he might perform, in so difficult a conjuncture, something important to the queen, and at the same time find a secure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan without communicating it to any person whatsoever; and the disposition of the army being to march towards *Warneton*, in the way to *Dunkirk*, he gave sudden orders to lieutenant-general *Cadogan*, to change his route, according to the military phrase, and move towards *Orchies*, a town leading directly to *Ghent*.

When prince *Eugene* and the States deputies received news of the duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmost degree, and sent count *Nassau*, of *Wordenburg*, to the general's camp near *Orchies*, to excuse what had been done, and to assure his grace, that those commandants, who had refused passage to his officers, had acted wholly without orders. Count *Hempseck*, one of the *Dutch* generals, came likewise to the duke with the same story; but all this made little impression on the general, who held on his march, and on the 23d of *July*, N. S. entered *Ghent*, where he was received with great submission by the inhabitants, and took possession of the town, as he likewise did of *Bruges*, a few days after.

The duke of *Ormond* thought, that, considering the present disposition of the States towards *Britain*, it might be necessary for the queen to have some pledge

pledge from that republick in her hands, as well as from *France*, by which means her majesty would be impowered to act the part that best became her, of being mediator at least: that, while *Ghent* was in the queen's hands, no provisions could pass the *Scheld* or the *Lis* without her permission, by which he had it in his power to starve their army. The possession of these towns might likewise teach the *Dutch* and *Imperialists*, to preserve a degree of decency and civility to her majesty, which both of them were upon some occasions too apt to forget: and besides, there was already in the town of *Ghent*, a battalion of *British* troops and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition-stores for the service of the war, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled; so that no service could be more seasonable or useful in the present juncture than this, which the queen highly approved, and left the duke a discretionary power to act as he thought fit on any future emergency.

I have a little intercepted the order of time, in relating the duke of *Ormond's* proceedings, who, after having placed a garrison at *Bruges*, and sent a supply of men and ammunition to *Dunkirk*, retired to *Ghent*, where he continued some months, till he had leave to return to *England*.

Upon the arrival of colonel *Disney* at court, with an account that Mr. *Hill* had taken possession of *Dunkirk*, an universal joy spread over the kingdom, this event being looked on as the certain fore-

fore-runner of a peace: beſides, the *French* faith was in ſo ill a reputation among us, that many perſons, otherwiſe ſanguine enough, could never bring themſelves to believe, that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the miniſters themſelves altogether at eaſe, or free from ſuſpicion, whatever countenance they made; for they knew very well, that the *French* king had many plauſible reaſons to elude his promiſe, if he found cauſe to repent it; one condition of ſurrendering *Dunkirk* being a general armiſtice of all the troops in the *Britiſh* pay, which her majeſty was not able to perform; and upon this failure, the marechal *de Villars* (as we have before related) endeavoured to diſſuade his court from accepting the conditicns: and in the very interval, while thoſe difficulties were adjuſting, the marechal *de Huxelles*, one of the *French* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* (whoſe inclinations, as well as thoſe of his colleague Monſ. *Meſnager*, led him to favour the States more than *Britain*) aſſured the lord privy-ſeal, that the *Dutch* were then preſſing to enter into ſeparate meaſures with his maſters: and his lordſhip, in a viſit to abbé *de Polignac*, obſerving a perſon to withdraw as he entered the abbé's chamber, was told by this miniſter, that the perſon he ſaw was one *Moleau*, of *Amſterdam*, mentioned before, a famous agent or the States with *France*, who had been entertaining him (the abbé) upon the ſame ſubject; but that he

he had refuſed to treat with *Moleau*, without the privity of *England*.

Mr. *Harley*, whom we mentioned above to have been ſent early in the ſpring to *Utrecht*, continued longer in *Holland* than was at firſt expected; but, having received her majeſty's further inſtructions, was about this time arrived at *Hanover*. It was the misfortune of his electoral highneſs, to be very ill ſerved by Monſ. *Bothmar*, his envoy here, who aſſiſted at all the factious meetings of the diſcontented party, and deceived his maſter by a falſe repreſentation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of thoſe to whom he confined his converſation. There was likewiſe at the elector's court a little *Frenchman*, without any merit or conſequence, called *Robithan*, who, by the aſſiſtance and encouragement of the laſt miniſtry, had inſinuated himſelf into ſome degree of that prince's favour, which he uſed in giving his maſter the worſt impreſſions he was able, of thoſe whom the queen employed in her ſervice; inſinuating, that the preſent miniſters were not in the intereſt of his highneſs's family; that their views were towards the pretender; that they were making an unſecure and diſhonourable peace; that the weight of the nation was againſt them; and that it was impoſſible for them to preſerve much longer their credit or power.

The earl *Rivers* had, in the foregoing year, been ſent to *Hanover*, in order to undeceive the elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infuſed into his highneſs againſt her majeſty's proceedings;

ceedings; but it ſhould ſeem, that he had no very great ſucceſs in his negociation: for, ſoon after his return to *England*, Monſ. *Bothmar's* memorial appeared in the manner I have already related, which diſcovered the ſentiments of his electoral highneſs (if they were truly repreſented in that memorial) to differ not a little from thoſe of the queen. Mr. *Harley* was therefore directed to take the firſt opportunity of ſpeaking to the elector in private, to aſſure him, "That, although her majeſty had "thought herſelf juſtly provoked by the conduct of "his miniſter, yet ſuch was her affection for his "highneſs, and concern for the intereſts of his "family, that, inſtead of ſhewing the leaſt mark "of reſentment, ſhe had choſen to ſend him (Mr. "*Harley*) fully inſtructed to open her deſigns, and "ſhew his highneſs the real intereſt of *Britain* in "the preſent conjuncture." Mr. *Harley* was to give the elector a true account of what had paſſed in *England*, during the firſt part of this ſeſſion of parliament; to expoſe to his highneſs the weakneſs of thoſe with whom his miniſter had conſulted, and under whoſe directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that faction muſt become, when a peace ſhould be concluded, and when the natural ſtrength of the kingdom, diſincumbered from the burthen of the war, ſhould be at liberty to exert itſelf; to ſhew him how his intereſt in the ſucceſſion was ſacrifiſed to that of a party: that his highneſs had been hitherto a friend to both ſides; but that the meaſures taken by

by his miniſters, had tended only to ſet him at the head of one in oppoſition to the other: to explain to the elector, how fully the ſafety of *Europe* was provided for by the plan of peace in her majeſty's ſpeech; and how little reaſon thoſe would appear to have, who complained the loudeſt of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the courſe of it.

Upon this occaſion, Mr. *Harley* was to obſerve to the elector, "That it ſhould rather be "wondered at, how the queen had brought *France* "to offer ſo much, than yet to offer no more; "becauſe, as ſoon as ever it appeared that "her majeſty would be at the head of this treaty, "and that the intereſts of *Britain* were to be pro- "vided for, ſuch endeavours were uſed to break "off the negociation, as are hardly to be paralleled; "and the diſunion thereby created among the al- "lies, had given more opportunities to the enemy, "of being ſlow in their conceſſions, than any other "meaſures might poſſibly have done: That this "want of concert among the allies could not in "any ſort be imputed to the queen, who had all "along invited them to it with the greateſt earneſt- "neſs, as the ſureſt means to bring *France* to rea- "ſon: That ſhe had always, in a particular man- "ner, preſſed the States General to come into the "ſtricteſt union with her, and opened to them "her intentions with the greateſt freedom; but "finding, that, inſtead of concurring with her ma-

" jesty, they were daily carrying on intrigues to break " off the negociation, and thereby deprive her of " the advantages she might justly expect from the " ensuing peace, having no other way left, she " was forced to act with *France*, as she did, by her- " self: That, however, the queen had not taken " upon herself to determine the interests of the al- " lies, who were at liberty of insisting on farther " pretensions, wherein her majesty would not be " wanting to support them as far as she was able, " and improve the concessions already made by " *France*; in which case, a good understanding " and harmony among the confederates would " yet be of the greatest use for making the enemy " more tractable and easy."

I have been more particular in reciting the substance of Mr. *Harley's* instructions, because it will serve as a recapitulation of what I have already said upon this subject, and seems to set her majesty's intentions, and proceedings at this time, in the clearest light.

After the cessation of arms declared by the duke of *Ormond*, upon the delivery of *Dunkirk*, the *British* plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of *Holland* to come into a general armistice; for, if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this would certainly be the best means for bringing the common enemy to reasonable terms of peace: but the States, deluded by the boundless promises of count *Zindendorf*, and the undertaking talent of prince *Eugene*, who dreaded the conclusion

of

of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a ceſſation. The loſs of eighteen thouſand *Britons* was not a diminution of weight in the balance of ſuch an ally as the emperor, and ſuch a general as the prince. Beſides, they looked upon themſeves to be ſtill ſuperior to *France* in the field; and, although their computation was certainly right in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the concluſion drawn from it was grounded upon a great miſtake. I have been aſſured by ſeveral perſons of our own country, and ſome foreigners of the firſt rank, both for ſkill and ſtation in arms, that, in moſt victories obtained in the preſent war, the *Britiſh* troops were ever employed in the poſt of danger and honour, and uſually began the attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearleſs than the people of any other country), by which they were not only an example of courage to the reſt, but muſt be acknowledged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day; ſince it is known enough, how ſmall a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewiſe be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war than opinion. The *French*, by their frequent loſſes, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a *Britiſh* general, at the head of *Britiſh troops*, was not to be overcome; and the marechal *de Villars* was quickly ſenſible of the advantage he had got; for, in a very few days after the deſertion of the allies, happened the earl of *Albemarle's* diſgrace at *Denain*, by a feint of the

marechal's, and a manifeſt failure, ſomewhere or other, both of courage and conduct on the ſide of the confederates. The blame of which was equally ſhared between prince *Eugene* and the earl; although it is certain, the duke of *Ormond* gave the latter timely warning of his danger, obſerving he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges ſufficient for the ſituation he was in, and at ſuch a diſtance from the main army.

The marquis *de Torcy* had likewiſe the ſame ſentiments, of what mighty conſequence thoſe few *Britiſh* battalions were to the confederate army; ſince he adviſed his maſter to deliver up *Dunkirk*, although the queen could not perform the condition underſtood, which was a ceſſation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It muſt be owned, that Monſ. *de Torcy* made great merit of this confidence that his maſter placed in the queen; and obſerving her majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt the *Dutch*, on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enough; inſinuating, that, ſince the States had acted ſo ungratefully, the queen ſhould let her forces join with thoſe of *France*, in order to compel the confederates to a peace. But, although this overture were very tenderly hinted from the *French* court, her majeſty heard it with the utmoſt abhorrence; and ordered her ſecretary, Mr. *St. John* (created about this time viſcount *Bolingbroke*), to tell Monſ. *de Torcy*, "That no provocations "whatever ſhould tempt her to diſtreſs her allies; "but

" but ſhe would endeavour to bring them to reaſon " by fair means, or leave them to their own con- " duct: That, if the former ſhould be found im- " practicable, ſhe would then make her own peace, " and content herſelf with doing the office of a " mediator between both parties: but, if the States " ſhould at any time come to a better mind, and " ſuffer their miniſters to act in conjunction with " her's, ſhe would aſſert their juſt intereſts to the " utmoſt, and make no farther progreſs in any " treaty with *France*, until thoſe allies received all " reaſonable ſatisfaction, both as to their barrier " and their trade." The *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries were directed to give the ſame aſſurances to the *Dutch* miniſters at *Utrecht*, and withal to let them know, " That the queen was determined, by their " late conduct, to make peace either with or with- " out them; but would much rather chuſe the " former."

There was, however, one advantage, which her majeſty reſolved to make by this defection of her foreigners. She had been led, by the miſtaken politicks of ſome years paſt, to involve herſelf in ſeveral guaranties with the princes of the North, which were, in ſome ſort, contradictory to one another; but this conduct of their's wholly annulled all ſuch engagements, and left her at liberty to interpoſe in the affairs of thoſe parts of *Europe*, in ſuch a manner as would beſt ſerve the intereſts of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the Pro-

teſtant religion, and ſettle a due balance of power in the North.

The grand article, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, was to be executed during a ceſſation of arms. But many difficulties ariſing about that, and ſome other points of great importance to the common cauſe, which could not eaſily be adjuſted either between the *French* and *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, or by correſpondence between Monſ. *de Torcy* and the miniſtry here; the queen took the reſolution of ſending the lord viſcount *Bolingbroke* immediately to *France*, fully inſtructed in all her intentions, and authoriſed to negociate every thing neceſſary for ſettling the treaty of peace in ſuch a courſe, as might bring it to a happy and ſpeedy concluſion. He was impowered to agree to a general ſuſpenſion of arms, by ſea and land, between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, to continue for four months, or until the concluſion of the peace; provided *France* and *Spain* would previouſly give poſitive aſſurances to make good the terms demanded by her majeſty for the duke of *Savoy*, and would likewiſe adjuſt and determine the forms of the ſeveral renunciations to be made by both thoſe crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The lord *Bolingbroke* was likewiſe authoriſed to ſettle ſome differences relating to the elector of *Bavaria*, for whoſe intereſts *France* was as much concerned as her majeſty was for thoſe of the duke of *Savoy*; to explain all doubtful articles which particularly related to the advantages of *Britain*;

tain ; to know the real ultimation, as it is termed, of *France* upon the general plan of peace ; and laſtly, to cut off all hopes from that court of ever bringing the queen to force her allies to a diſadvantageous peace ; her majeſty reſolving to impoſe no ſcheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the beſt conditions they could.

The lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France* in the begining of *Auguſt*, was received at court with particular marks of diſtinction and reſpect ; and in a very few days, by his uſual addreſs and ability, performed every part of his commiſſion, extremely to the queen's content and his own honour. He returned to *England* before the end of the month ; but Mr. *Prior*, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjuſt whatever differences might remain or ariſe between the two crowns.

In the mean time, the general conferences at *Utrecht*, which for ſeveral weeks had been let fall, ſince the delivery of *Dunkirk*, were now reſumed. But the *Dutch* ſtill declaring againſt a ſuſpenſion of arms, and refuſing to accept the queen's ſpeech as a plan to negociate upon, there was no progreſs made for ſome time in the great work of the peace. Whereupon the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries told thoſe of the States, " That, if the queen's endeavours " could not procure more than the contents of her " ſpeech, or if the *French* ſhould ever fall ſhort of " what was there offered, the *Dutch* could blame

" none but themſelves, who by their conduct, had " rendered things difficult, that would otherwiſe " have been eaſy." However, her majeſty thought it prudent to keep the States ſtill in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the deſperate courſe of leaving themſelves wholly at the mercy of *France*; which was an expedient they formerly practiſed, and which a party among them was now inclined to adviſe.

Whilſt the congreſs at *Utrecht* remained in this inactive ſtate, the queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*. It was propoſed and accepted, that *Philip* ſhould renounce *France*, for himſelf and his poſterity; and that the moſt Chriſtian king, and all the princes of his blood, ſhould, in the like manner, renounce *Spain*.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great diſrepute, by the former practices of this very king, *Lewis* XIV. purſuant to an abſurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right, annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain, the *French* themſelves had recourſe to this method, after all their infractions of it, ſince the *Pyrenean* treaty; for the firſt dauphin, in whom the original claim was veſted, renounced, for himſelf and his eldeſt ſon, which opened the way to *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*; who would however hardly have ſucceeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the laſt king, *Charles* II.

It

It is indeed hard to reflect, with any patience, upon the unaccountable ſtupidity of the princes of *Europe* for ſome centuries paſt, who left a probability to *France* of ſucceeding in a few ages to all their dominions; whilſt, at the ſame time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reaſon of the Salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every ſovereign in Chriſtendom to enact a Salique law, with reſpect to *France*; for want of which, it is almoſt a miracle, that the *Bourbon* family hath not poſſeſſed the univerſal monarchy by right of inheritance? When the *French* aſſert a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as ſome of their miniſters, who ought to be more wiſe or honeſt, have lately advanced in this very caſe, to the title of *Spain*; do they not, by allowing a *French* ſucceſſion, make their own kings uſurpers? Or, if the Salique law be divine, is it not of univerſal obligation, and conſequently of force, to exclude *France* from inheriting by daughters? Or, laſtly, if that law be or human inſtitution, may it not be enacted in any ſtate, with whatever extent or limitation the legiſlature ſhall think fit? For the notion of an unchangeable human law is an abſurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance, and ſupported by power. From hence it follows, that the children of the late queen of *France*, although ſhe had renounced, were as legally excluded from ſucceeding to *Spain*, as if the Salique law had been fundamental in that kingdom; ſince that excluſion was eſtabliſhed

bliſhed by every power in *Spain* which could poſſibly give a ſanction to any law there; and therefore the duke of *Anjou's* title is wholly founded upon the bequeſt of his predeceſſor (which hath great authority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in our's), upon the confirmation of the Cortes, and the general conſent of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is ſo frequently ſubſervient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwiſe than from the powers and parties whoſe intereſt it is to ſupport them. But this renunciaton, which the queen hath exacted from the *French* king and his grandſon, I take to be armed with all the eſſential circumſtances that can fortify ſuch an act. For as it is neceſſary, for the ſecurity of every prince in *Europe*, that thoſe two great kingdoms ſhould never be united; ſo the chief among them will readily conſent to be guarantees for preventing ſuch a misfortune.

Beſides, this propoſal (according to her majeſty's expreſſion in her ſpeech) is of ſuch a nature, that it executes itſelf; becauſe the *Spaniards*, who dread ſuch an union, for every reaſon that can have weight among men, took care that their king ſhould not only renounce, in the moſt ſolemn manner; but likewiſe, that the act ſhould be framed in the ſtrongeſt terms themſelves could invent, or we could furniſh them with. As to *France*, upon ſuppoſal of the young dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war againſt a powerful alliance, fortified

fortified with the addition of the *Spaniards*, and the party of the duke of *Berry*, or whoever elſe ſhall be next claimer: and the longer the preſent dauphin lives, the weaker muſt *Philip's* intereſt be in *France*; becauſe the princes, who are to ſucceed by this renunciation, will have moſt power and credit in the kingdom.

The miſchiefs occaſioned by the want of a good underſtanding between the allies, eſpecially *Britain* and *Holland*, were raiſed every day; the *French* taking the advantage, and raiſing difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but likewiſe upon the explanation of ſeveral articles in the projected treaty between them and her majeſty: They inſiſted to have *Liſle*, as the equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and demanded *Tournay*, *Maubeuge*, and *Condé*, for the two or three towns mentioned in the queen's ſpeech; which the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries were ſo far from allowing, that they refuſed to confer with thoſe of *France* upon that foot; although, at the ſame time, the former had freſh apprehenſions that the *Dutch*, in a fit of deſpair, would accept whatever terms the enemy pleaſed to offer, and, by precipitating their own peace, prevent her majeſty from obtaining any advantages, both for her allies and herſelf.

It is moſt certain, that the repeated loſſes ſuffered by the States, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themſelves from the queen's aſſiſtance, did wholly diſconcert their counſels; and their prudence (as it is uſual) began to forſake them

them with their good fortune. They were so weak as to be still deluded by their friends in *England*, who continued to give them hopes of some mighty and immediate resource from hence; for when the duke of *Ormond* had been about a month in *Ghent*, he received a letter from the marechal *de Villars*, to inform him, that the *Dutch* generals, taken at *Denain*, had told the marechal publicly of a sudden revolution expected in *Britain*; that particularly the earl of *Albemarle* and Monsr. *Hompesch* discoursed very freely of it; and that nothing was more commonly talked of in *Holland*. It was then likewise confidently reported in *Ghent*, that the queen was dead; and we all remember what rumour flew about here at the very same time, as if her majesty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether such vain hopes as these gave spirit to the *Dutch*; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and sullen; whether they still expected to over-reach us by some private stipulations with *France*, thro' the mediation of the elector of *Bavaria*, as that prince afterwards gave out; or whatever else was the cause; they utterly refused a cessation of arms, and made not the least return to all the advances and invitations made by her majesty, until the close of the campaign.

It was then the States first began to view their affairs in another light; to consider how little the vast promises of count *Zindendorf* were to be relied on; to be convinced that *France* was not disposed to break with her majesty, only to gratify their ill-humour,

humour, or unreaſonable demands; to diſcover that their factious correſpondents on this ſide the water had ſhamefully miſled them; that ſome of their own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war, and backward in their loans; and, laſtly, that prince *Eugene*, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their miniſters at *Utrecht* to ſignify to the lord privy-ſeal and the earl of *Strafford*, "That the States were diſ-"poſed to comply with her majeſty, and to deſire "her good offices with *France*; particularly, that "*Tournay* and *Condé* might be left to them as part "of their barrier, without which they could not be "ſafe: That the elector of *Bavaria* might not be "ſuffered to retain any town in the *Netherlands*, "which would be as bad for *Holland* as if thoſe pla-"ces were in the hands of *France*: Therefore the "States propoſed, that *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, "*Charleroy*, and *Nieuport*, might be delivered to "the emperor. Laſtly, That the *French* might "not inſiſt on excepting the four ſpecies of goods "out of the tariff of 1664: That, if her majeſty "could prevail with *France* to ſatisfy their maſters "on theſe articles, they would be ready to ſubmit "in all the reſt."

When the queen received an account of this good diſpoſition in the States General, immediately orders were ſent to Mr. *Prior*, to inform the miniſters of the *French* court, "That her majeſty "had now ſome hopes of the *Dutch* complying "with

" with her measures; and therefore she resolved, " as she had always declared, whenever those allies " came to themselves, not to make the peace with- " out their reasonable satisfaction." The difficulty that most pressed, was about the disposal of *Tournay* and *Condé*. The *Dutch* insisted strongly to have both, and the *French* were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The queen judged the former would suffice, for compleating the barrier of the States. Mr. *Prior* was therefore directed to press the marquis *de Torcy* effectually on this head, and to terminate all that minister's objections, by assuring him of her majesty's resolutions to appear openly on the side of the *Dutch*, if this demand were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute manner with *France*, whose late success, against *Holland*, had taught the ministers of the most Christian king to resume their old imperious manner of treating with that republick; to which they were farther encouraged by the ill understanding between her majesty and the allies.

This appeared from the result of an idle quarrel that happened, about the end of *August*, at *Utrecht*, between a *French* and a *Dutch* plenipotentiary, Monsr. *Mesnager* and count *Rechteren*; wherein the court of *France* demanded such abject submissions, and with so much haughtiness, as plainly shewed they were pleased with any occasion of mortifying the *Dutch*.

Besides,

Beſides, the politicks of the *French* ran at this time very oppoſite to thoſe of *Britain:* They thought the miniſters here durſt not meet the parliament without a peace; and that, therefore, her majeſty would either force the States to comply with *France*, by delivering up *Tournay*, which was the principal point in diſpute, or would finiſh her own peace with *France* and *Spain*, leaving a fixed time for *Holland* to refuſe or accept the terms impoſed on them. But the queen, who thought the demand of *Tournay* by the States to be very neceſſary and juſt, was determined to inſiſt upon it, and to declare openly againſt *France*, rather than ſuffer her ally to want a place ſo uſeful for their barrier. And Mr. *Prior* was ordered to ſignify this reſolution of her majeſty to Monſ. *de Torcy*, in caſe that miniſter could not be otherwiſe prevailed on.

The *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries did likewiſe, at the ſame time, expreſs to thoſe of *Holland* her majeſty's great ſatisfaction, that the States were at laſt diſpoſed to act in confidence with her: "That ſhe "wiſhed this reſolution had been ſooner taken, "ſince nobody had gained by the delay, but the "*French* king; that, however, her majeſty did "not queſtion the procuring a ſafe and honourable "peace, by united counſels, reaſonable demands, "and prudent meaſures; that ſhe would aſſiſt "them in getting whatever was neceſſary to their "barrier, and in ſettling, to their ſatisfaction, "the exceptions made by *France* out of the tariff "of 1664; that no other difficulties remained of

"moment

" moment to retard the peace, ſince the queen " had obtained *Sicily* for the duke of *Savoy*; and, " in the ſettlement of the *Low-Countries*, would " adhere to what ſhe delivered from the throne: " That, as to the empire, her majeſty heartily wiſh- " ed their barrier as good as could be deſired; but " that we were not now in circumſtances to expect " every thing exactly according to the ſcheme of " *Holland*: *France* had already offered a great part, " and the queen did not think the remainder worth " the continuance of the war."

Her majeſty conceived the peace in ſo much forwardneſs, that ſhe thought fit, about this time, to nominate the duke of *Hamilton* and the lord *Lexington* for ambaſſadors in *France* and *Spain*, to receive the renunciations in both courts, and adjuſt matters of commerce.

The duke was preparing for his journey, when he was challenged to a duel by the lord *Mohun*, a perſon of infamous character. He killed his adverſary upon the ſpot, tho' he himſelf received a wound; and, weakened by the loſs of blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his ſecond, was moſt barbarouſly ſtabbed in the breaſt by lieutenant-general *Maccartney*, who was ſecond to lord *Mohun*. He died a few minutes after in the field, and the murderer made his eſcape. I thought ſo ſupprizing an event might deſerve barely to be related, although it be ſomething foreign to my ſubject.

The earl of *Strafford*, who had come to *England* in laſt, in order to give her majeſty an account

account of the diſpoſition of affairs in *Holland*, was now returning with her laſt inſtructions, to let the *Dutch* miniſter know, "That ſome points would "probably meet with difficulties not to be over-"come, which once might have been eaſily obtained: "To ſhew what evil conſequences had already flow-"ed from their delay and irreſolution; and to in-"treat them to fix on ſome propoſition, reaſonable "in itſelf, as well as poſſible to be effected: That "the queen would inſiſt upon the ceſſion of *Tournay* "by *France*, provided the States would concur in "finiſhing the peace, without ſtarting new objecti-"ons, or inſiſting upon farther points: That the "*French* demands, in favour of the elector of *Bava-"ria*, appeared to be ſuch as, the queen was of "opinion, the States ought to agree to; which were, "to leave the elector in poſſeſſion of *Luxemburg*, "*Namur*, and *Charleroy*, ſubject to the terms of "their barrier, until he ſhould be reſtored to his "electorate; and to give him the kingdom of *Sar-"dinia*, to efface the ſtain of his degradation in the "electoral college: That the earl had brought "over a project of a new treaty of ſucceſſion and "barrier, which her majeſty inſiſted the States "ſhould ſign, before the concluſion of the peace; "the former treaty having been diſadvantageous "to her ſubjects, containing in it the ſeeds of fu-"ture diſſentions, and condemned by the ſenſe of "the nation. Laſtly, that her majeſty, notwithſtand-"ing all provocations, had, for the ſake of the "*Dutch*, and in hopes of their recovery from thoſe

" falſe notions which had ſo long miſled them, hi-
" therto kept the negociations open: That the of-
" fers now made them were her laſt, and this the
" laſt time ſhe would apply to them: That they
" muſt either agree, or expect the queen would
" proceed immediately to conclude her treaty with
" *France* and *Spain*, in conjunction with ſuch of
" her allies as would think fit to adhere to her.

" As to *Savoy*, that the queen expected the States
" would concur with her in making good the ad-
" vantages ſtipulated for that duke, and in prevail-
" ing with the emperor to conſent to an abſolute
" neutrality in *Italy*, until the peace ſhould be
" concluded."

The governing party in *Holland*, however in appearance diſpoſed to finiſh, affected new delays, and raiſed many difficulties about the four ſpecies of goods, which the *French* had excepted out of the tariff. Count *Zinzendorf*, the emperor's plenipotentiary, did all that was poſſible to keep up this humour in the *Dutch*, in hopes to put them under a neceſſity of preparing for the next campaign; and ſome time after went ſo far in this purſuit, that he ſummoned the ſeveral miniſters of the empire, told them he had letters from his maſter, with orders to ſignify to them, " That his imperial ma-
" jeſty reſolved to begin the campaign early, with
" all his forces united againſt *France*; of which he
" deſired they would ſend notice to all their courts,
" that the ſeveral princes might be ready to furniſh
" their contingents and recruits." At the ſame time,

time, *Zinzendorf* endeavoured to borrow two millions of florins upon the security of some imperial cities; but could not succeed either amongst the *Jews* or at *Amsterdam*.

When the earl of *Strafford* arrived at *Utrecht*, the lord privy-seal and he communicated to the *Dutch* ministers the new treaty for a succession and barrier, as the queen had ordered it to be prepared here in *England*, differing from the former in several points of the greatest moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was strenuously opposed for several weeks by the plenipotentiaries of the States; but the province of *Utrecht*, where the congress was held, immediately sent orders to their representatives at the *Hague*, to declare their province thankful to the queen; that they agreed the peace should be made on the terms proposed by *France*, and consented to the new-projected treaty of barrier and succession: and about the close of the year, 1712, four of the seven provinces had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unusual precipitation in the States, so different from the whole tenour of their former conduct, was very much suspected by the *British* plenipotentiaries. Their lordships had received intelligence, that the *Dutch* ministers held frequent conferences with those of *France*, and had offered to settle their interests with that crown, without the concurrence of *Britain*. Count *Zindendorf*, and his colleagues, appeared likewise, all on the sudden,

to have the ſame diſpoſitions, and to be in great haſte to ſettle their ſeveral differences with the States. The reaſons for this proceeding were viſible enough; many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her majeſty and *France*; for the adjuſting of which, and ſome other points, the queen had lately diſpatched the duke of *Shrewsbury* to that court. Some of theſe were of hard digeſtion, with which the moſt Chriſtian king would not be under a neceſſity of complying, when he had no farther occaſion for us, and might, upon that account, afford better terms to the other two powers. Beſides, the emperor and the States could very well ſpare her majeſty the honour of being arbitrator of a general peace; and the latter hoped, by this means, to avoid the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion, which we were now forcing on them.

To prevent the conſequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident, which the two lords at *Utrecht* knew well to make uſe of: the quarrel between Monſ. *Meſnager* and Count *Richteren* (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The *French* and *Dutch* differing in ſome circumſtances, about the ſatisfaction to be given by the count for the affront he had offered, the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries kept this diſpute on foot for ſeveral days; and, in the mean time, preſſed the *Dutch* to finiſh the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion between her majeſty and them, which, about the middle of *January*, was concluded fully to the queen's ſatisfaction.

But,

But, while theſe debates and differences continued at the congreſs, the queen reſolved to put a ſpeedy end to her part in the war; ſhe therefore ſent orders to the lord privy-ſeal and the earl of *Strafford*, to prepare every thing neceſſary for ſigning her own treaty with *France*. This ſhe hoped might be done againſt the meeting of her parliament, now prorogued to the third of *February*; in which time, thoſe among the allies, who were really inclined towards a peace, might ſettle their ſeveral intereſts, by the aſſiſtance and ſupport of her majeſty's plenipotentiaries; and as for the reſt, who would either refuſe to comply, or endeavour to protract the negociation, the heads of their reſpective demands, which *France* had yielded by her majeſty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her ſpeech, ſhould be mentioned in the treaty, and a time limited for the ſeveral powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The pretender was not yet gone out of *France*, upon ſome difficulties alledged by the *French*, about procuring him a ſafe conduct to *Bar-le-duc*, in the duke of *Lorrain's* dominions, where it was then propoſed he ſhould reſide. The queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her ſubjects, declared, ſhe would not ſign the peace till that perſon were removed; although ſeveral wiſe men believed he could be no where leſs dangerous to *Britain*, than in the place where he was.

The argument which moſt prevailed on the States to ſign the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſ-

sion with *Britain*, was her majesty's promise to procure *Tournay* for them from *France*; after which, no more differences remained between us and that republick, and consequently they had no farther temptations to any separate transactions with the *French*, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the *Dutch*. The satisfaction they extorted for the affront given by count *Richteren* to Monsr. *Mesnager*, although somewhat softened by the *British* ministers at *Utrecht*, was yet so rigorous, that her majesty could not forbear signifying her resentment of it to the most Christian king. Monsr. *Mesnager*, who seemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a minister, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the States, to raise new disputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The abbé *de Polignac*, a most accomplished person, of great generosity and universal understanding, was gone to *France*, to receive the cardinal's cap; and the marechal *de Huxelles* was wholly guided by his colleague, Monsr. *Mesnager*, who kept up those brangles, that for a time obstructed the peace; some of which were against all justice, and others of small importance, both of very little advantage to his country, and less to the reputation of his master or himself. This low talent in business, which the cardinal *de Polignac* used, in contempt, to call a *Spirit of Negociating*, made it impossible for the two lords, plenipotentiaries, with all their abilities and experience, to bring

Mesnager

Meſnager to reaſon, in ſeveral points both with us and the States: his conceſſions were few and conſtrained, ſerving only to render him more tenacious of what he refuſed. In ſeveral of the towns, which the States were to keep, he inſiſted that *France* ſhould retain the chatellanies, or extent of country depending on them, particularly that of *Tournay*; a demand the more unjuſtifiable, becauſe he knew his maſter had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom, where his own judges extended the territories about thoſe towns he had taken, as far as he pleaſed to direct them. Monſ. *Meſnager* ſhewed equal obſtinacy in what his maſter expected for the elector of *Bavaria*, and in refuſing the tariff of 1664: ſo that the queen's plenipotentiaries repreſented theſe difficulties as what might be of dangerous conſequence, both to the peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not ſpeedily prevented.

Upon theſe conſiderations, her majeſty thought it her ſhorteſt and ſafeſt courſe to apply directly to *France*, where ſhe had then ſo able a miniſter as the duke of *Shrewſbury*.

The marquiſs *de Torcy*, ſecretary to the moſt Chriſtian king, was the miniſter with whom the duke was to treat, as having been the firſt who moved his maſter to apply to the queen for a peace, in oppoſition to a violent faction in that kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the war, as any other could be either here or in *Holland*.

It would be very unlike an hiſtorian, to refuſe this great miniſter the praiſe he ſo juſtly deſerveth, of having treated, through the whole courſe of ſo great a negociation, with the utmoſt candour and integrity; never once failing in any promiſe he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his maſter's intereſt, with a ready compliance to what was reaſonable and juſt. Mr. *Prior*, whom I have formerly mentioned, reſided likewiſe now at *Paris*, with the character of a miniſter plenipotentiary; and was very acceptable to that court, upon the ſcore of his wit and humour.

The duke of *Shrewſbury* was directed to preſs the *French* court upon the points yet unſettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns; to make them drop their unreaſonable demands for the elector of *Bavaria*; to let them know, that the queen was reſolved not to forſake her allies, who were now ready to come in; that ſhe thought the beſt way of haſtening the general peace, was to determine her own particular one with *France*, until which time ſhe could not conveniently ſuffer her parliament to meet.

The States were, by this time, ſo fully convinced of the queen's ſincerity and affection to their republick, and how much they had been deceived by the inſinuations of the factious party in *England*, that they wrote a very humble letter to her majeſty, to deſire her aſſiſtance towards ſettling thoſe points they had in diſpute with *France*, and profeſſing themſelves ready to acquieſce in whatever explanation

tion her majesty would please to make of the plan proposed in her speech to the parliament.

But the queen had already prevented their desires; and in the beginning of *February*, 1712-13, directed the duke of *Shrewsbury* to inform the *French* court, "That, since she had prevailed on her allies, the "*Dutch*, to drop the demand of *Condé*, and the "other of the four species of goods, which the "*French* had excepted out of the tariff of 1664, "she would not sign without them: That she ap- "proved of the *Dutch* insisting to have the chatel- "lanies restored with the towns, and was resolv- "ed to stand or fall with them, until they were "satisfied in this point."

Her majesty had some apprehensions, that the *French* created these difficulties on purpose to spin out the treaty, until the campaign should begin. They thought it absolutely necessary, that our parliament should meet in a few weeks, which could not well be ventured, until the queen were able to tell both houses, that her own peace was was signed: That this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between *Britain* and *France*, but leave the *Dutch* entirely at the mercy of the latter.

The queen, weary of these refined mistakes in the *French* politicks, and fully resolved to be trifled with no longer, sent her determinate orders to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, to let *France* know, "That "her majesty had hitherto prorogued her parlia- "ment, in hopes of accommodating the difficul- "ties in her own treaties of peace and commerce "with that crown, as well as settling the interests

"of

" of her ſeveral allies; or, at leaſt, that the dif-
" ferences in the former being removed, the moſt
" Chriſtian king would have made ſuch offers for
" the latter, as might juſtify her majeſty in ſigning
" her own peace, whether the confederates intend-
" ed to ſign theirs or no. But, ſeveral points
" being yet unfiniſhed between both crowns, and
" others between *France* and the reſt of the
" of the allies, eſpecially the States, to which the
" plenipotentiaries of that court at *Utretcht* had
" not thought fit to give ſatisfaction; the queen
" was now come to a final determination, both
" with relation to her own kingdoms and to the
" whole alliance: That, the campaign approaching,
" ſhe would not willingly be ſurpriſed in caſe the
" war was to go on: That ſhe had tranſmitted to
" the duke of *Shrewſbury* her laſt reſolutions, and
" never would be prevailed on to reduce her own de-
" mands, or thoſe of her allies, any lower than the
" ſcheme now ſent over, as an explanation of the
" plan laid down in her ſpeech: That her majeſty
" had ſent orders to her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*,
" to aſſume the character of ambaſſadors, and ſign
" the peace immediately with the miniſters of the
" moſt Chriſtian king, as ſoon as the duke of *Shrew-*
" *ſbury* ſhould have ſent them notice that the *French*
" had complied: That the queen had therefore far-
" ther prorogued her parliament to the third of
" *March*, in hopes to aſſure them, by that time,
" of her peace being agreed on; for, if the two
" houſes ſhould meet while any uncertainty re-
" mained, ſupplies muſt be aſked as for a war."

The

The duke of *Shrewſbury* executed this important commiſſion with that ſpeed and ſucceſs, which could only be expected from an able miniſter [*a*]. The *French* king immediately yielded to the whole ſcheme her majeſty propoſed; whereupon directions were ſent to the lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of *Strafford*, to ſign a peace between *Great Britain* and *France*, without delay.

Upon the ſecond day of *March*, the two *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries met thoſe of the allies in the Town-houſe at *Utrecht*; where the lord privy-ſeal addreſſed himſelf to them in a ſhort ſpeech, "That the negociation had now continued fourteen months "with great ſlowneſs, which had proved very injurious to the intereſts of the allies: That the "queen had ſtaid thus long, and ſtopped the finiſhing her own peace, rather than leave her allies "in any uncertainty: That ſhe hoped they would "now be all prepared to put an end to this great "work; and therefore had commanded her plenipotentiaries to tell thoſe of the allies, That ſhe "found it neceſſary to conclude her own treaty immediately; and it was her opinion, that the "confederates ought to finiſh theirs at the ſame time, "to which they were now accordingly invited, by "her majeſty's orders." And laſtly, his lordſhip declared in the queen's name, "That whoever "could not be ready on the day prefixed, ſhould "have a convenient time allowed them to come "in."

[*a*] See his character vol. VIII. p. 125.

Although

Although the orders sent by the queen to her plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their lordships did not precipitate the performance of them. They were directed to appoint as short a day for the signing as they conveniently could; but, however, the particular day was left to their discretion. They hoped to bring over the *Dutch*, and most of the other allies, to conclude at the same time with the queen; which as it would certainly be more popular to their country, so they conceived it would be more safe for themselves: besides, upon looking over their commission, a scruple sprang in their minds, that they could not sign a particular peace with *France*; their powers, as they apprehended, authorising them only to sign a general one. Their lordships therefore sent to *England* to desire new powers, and, in the mean time, employed themselves with great industry, between the ministers of *France* and those of the several allies, to find some expedient for smoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The earl of *Strafford* went for a few days to the *Hague*, to inform the States of her majesty's express commands to his colleague and himself, for signing the peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at the same time, which the pensionary promised; and that their plenipotentiaries should be impowered accordingly, to the great contentment of Monsr. *Buys*, who was now so much altered, either in reality or appearance, that he complained to the earl of Monsr. *Heinsius's* slowness; and charged all the delays and mismanagements

ments of a twelve-month paſt, to that miniſter's account.

While the earl of *Strafford* ſtaid at the *Hague*, he diſcovered that an emiſſary of the duke of *Marlborough's* had been there ſome days before, ſent by his grace to diſſuade the *Dutch* from ſigning at the ſame time with the miniſters of the queen, which, in *England*, would at leaſt have the appearance of a ſeparate peace, and oblige their *Britiſh* friends, who knew how to turn ſo ſhort a delay to very good account, as well as gratify the emperor; on whom, it was alledged, they ought to rely much more than on her majeſty. One of the States likewiſe told the earl, "That the ſame perſon, employed by the "duke, was then in conference with the magiſ- "trates of *Rotterdam* (which town had declared "for the continuance of the war), to aſſure them, "if they would hold off a little, they ſhould ſee "an unexpected turn in the *Britiſh* parliament: "That the duke of *Marlborough* had a liſt of the "diſcontented members in both houſes, who were "ready to turn againſt the court; and, to crown "all, that his grace had certain intelligence of the "queen being in ſo ill a ſtate of health, as made "it impoſſible for her to live above ſix weeks." So reſtleſs and indefatigable is avarice and ambition, when inflamed by a deſire of revenge!

But repreſentations, which had been ſo often tried, were now offered too late. Moſt of the allies, except the emperor, were willing to put an end to the war upon her majeſty's plan; and the

further delay of three weeks must be chiefly imputed to that litigious manner of treating, peculiar to the *French*; whose plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* insisted with obstinacy upon many points, which at *Paris* Monsr. *de Torcy* had given up.

The emperor expected to keep all he already possessed in *Italy*; that *Portlongue*, on the *Tuscan* coast, should be delivered to him by *France*; and, lastly, that he should not be obliged to renounce *Spain*. But the queen, as well as *France*, thought that his imperial majesty ought to sit down contented with his partage of *Naples* and *Milan*: and to restore those territories in *Italy*, which he had taken from the rightful proprietors, and by the possession of which he was grown dangerous to the *Italian* princes, by reviving antiquated claims upon them.

This prince had likewise objected to her majesty's expedient of suffering the elector of *Bavaria* to retain *Luxembourg*, under certain conditions, by way of security, until his electorate were restored. But the queen, supposing that these affected delays were intended only with a view of continuing the war, resolved to defer the peace no longer on the emperor's account.

In the middle of *March* 1712-13, a courier arrived at *Utrecht* from *France*, with the plan of a general peace, as it had been agreed between the duke of *Shrewsbury* and Monsr. *de Torcy*; wherein every particular, relating to the interests and pretensions of the several allies, was brought so near to what each

each of them would accept, that the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries hoped the peace would be general in ten or twelve days. The *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* were already prepared, and others were daily coming in, by means of their lordſhip's good offices, who found Monſ. *Meſnager* and his colleague very ſtubborn to the laſt. Another courier was diſpatched to *France*, upon ſome diſputes about inſerting the titles of her majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian king, and to bring a general plan for the intereſts of theſe allies, who ſhould not be ready againſt the time prefixed. The *French* renunciations were now arrived at *Utrecht*; and it was agreed, that thoſe, as well as that of the king of *Spain*, ſhould be inſerted at length in every treaty, by which means the whole confederacy would become guaranties of them.

The courier, laſt ſent to *France*, returned to *Utrecht* on the 27th of *March*, with the conceſſions of that court upon every neceſſary point; ſo that, all things being ready for putting a period to this great and difficult work, the lord privy-ſeal and the earl of *Strafford* gave notice to the miniſters of the ſeveral allies, "That their lordſhips had "appointed *Tueſday* the 31ſt inſtant, wherein to "ſign a treaty of peace, and a treaty of commerce, "between the queen of *Great Britain*, their miſ-"treſs, and the moſt Chriſtian king; and hoped "the ſaid allies would be prepared, at the ſame "time, to follow their example." Accordingly

their lordſhips employed the three intervening days, in ſmoothing the few difficulties that remained between the *French* miniſters and thoſe of the ſeveral confederate powers.

The important day being now come, the lord biſhop of *Briſtol* and the earl of *Strafford*, having aſſumed the character of ambaſſadors extraordinary, gave a memorial in behalf of the *French* proteſtants to the marechal *de Huxelles* and his colleague, who were to tranſmit it to their court; and theſe delivered to the *Britiſh* ambaſſadors a declaration in writing, that the pretender was actually gone out of *France*.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the emperor and the empire, as adjuſted between *Britain* and *France*, were now likewiſe delivered to the count *Zinzendorf*. Theſe and ſome other previous matters of ſmaller conſequence being finiſhed, the treaties of peace and commerce between her majeſty of *Britain* and the moſt Chriſtian king were ſigned at the lord privy-ſeal's houſe, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon. The miniſters of the duke of *Savoy* ſigned about an hour after. Then the aſſembly adjourned to the earl of *Strafford's*, where they all went to dinner; and about nine at night the peace was ſigned by the miniſters of *Portugal*, by thoſe of *Pruſſia* at eleven, and when it was near midnight by the States.

Thus, after all the oppoſition raiſed by a ſtrong party in *France*, and by a virulent faction in *Britain*; after

after all the artifices of thoſe who preſided at the *Hague*, and, for their private intereſt, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in *England*, to prolonged the war; after the reſtleſs endeavours of the imperial court to render the treaty ineffectual; the firm ſteady conduct of the queen, the wiſdom and courage of her miniſtry, and the abilities of thoſe whom ſhe employed in her negociations abroad, prevailed to have a peace ſigned in one day, by every power concerned, except that of the emperor and the empire; for his imperial majeſty liked his ſituation too well to think of a peace, while the drudgery and expences of the war lay upon other ſhoulders, and the advantages were to redound only to himſelf.

During this whole negociation, the king of *Spain*, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had conſequently no miniſter at *Utrecht*; but the differences between her majeſty and that prince were eaſily ſettled by the lord *Lexington* at *Madrid*, and the marquis of *Monteleon* here: ſo that, upon the duke *D'Oſſuna's* arrival at the congreſs, ſome days after the peace, he was ready to conclude a treaty between the queen and his maſter. Neither is it probable that the *Dutch*, or any other ally except the emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their ſeveral treaties with his Catholic majeſty.

The treaties of peace and commerce, between *Britain* and *France*, were ratified here on the 7th

of *April*; on the 28th, the ratifications were exchanged; and on the 5th of *May*, the peace was proclaimed in the uſual manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had been ever been remembered on the like occaſion.

END OF VOL. XV.

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